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WAR-TIME SERMONS

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BY

H. HENSLEY HENSON, D.D.

DEAN OF DURHAM



MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

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TO THE
“FAITHFUL DURHAMS”

PREFACE

THE Christian Preacher has held a position of extreme difficulty during these months of War. Happily for themselves the clergy have, almost universally, shared the general conviction as to the justice of the War, and as to the moral obligation under which the Nation lies to prosecute it to a successful conclusion. Nevertheless the apparent conflict between War and the Gospel has been distressing and disturbing in the highest degree. Large numbers of English folk have within recent years indulged in dreams of universal peace, and based their political thinking on the assumption that war between civilized nations had become practically impossible. A sentimental cosmopolitanism had blinded them to the stern facts of human life, and rendered them indifferent to the sombre promise of recent political tendencies. Even the warnings of veteran statesmen and soldiers fell on deaf ears. The religious public especially had

been affected in this way. An amiable international Quakerism had invaded many pulpits, and coloured the preaching of many preachers. To the same end had tended the notable bias of religious people in favour of Socialism. The public mind had been directed to costly schemes of social amelioration, which, however admirable in themselves, ought never to have been permitted to usurp that primacy in the national concern which the security of the Empire against foreign aggression ought always to hold. The sudden outbreak of War has brought the Nation back, with the shock of unwelcome surprise, to the actualities of the world's life, and disallowed a vast accumulation of empty hopes and theories. There has been a disposition in some quarters to visit on Christianity the discredit of so humiliating a disappointment. This discredit, however, belongs, less to Christianity, than to the sentimental misreading of Christianity in which so many Christians have indulged.

II

Once committed to a conscientious support of the War, Christian Preachers were, almost in spite of themselves, driven to bring their whole ministry into relation with it. There was no genuine interest in

anything else. Congregations had no ears for the discussion of those topics which form the staple of normal preaching. Churchgoers, like everybody else, were obsessed by the immense conflict which was not only menacing the very life of the State, but was carrying bereavement into countless homes, and raising the shadow of actual want in families where comfort had hitherto been the secure assumption of life. New questions were suggested : and old questions were pressed with a new urgency. It is nowise surprising that in so grievous an unsettlement of use and wont many religious minds became unhinged and unbalanced. A credulous atmosphere was created, immensely favourable to the growth of superstition and the success of imposture. A notable impulse was given to movements which had been gaining strength among us for some years past. Spiritualism, occultism, faith-healing, a debased sacramentalism, and other expressions of faith divorced from morals and reason, reared their heads ; and a thriving business was soon doing in those old hobbies of fanaticism, prophetic interpretation, and Adventist forecasts. In their efforts to "mobilize our spiritual forces" (a wholly preposterous phrase), many religious leaders, who ought to have known better, seemed to be sanctioning doctrines of

prayer and of providence which cannot really be reconciled with the Christian belief in God, or with the known method of His providential government. Eminent divines were even found able to credit, and eager to publish, the now notorious fiction of angelic apparitions to British soldiers and German horses at a critical moment in the Retreat from Mons !

III

Patriotism is always rather perilous in the Christian pulpit: because Christianity is not a national religion, and can never really tolerate any national limits to its message. Preachers, moreover, are always in danger of overstatement: they are driven thither by their honest desire to persuade and convince their hearers. When they cross the conventional boundaries of their ministry, and handle in the pulpit subjects which are not directly moral and spiritual, they are almost always indiscriminating and excessive. They bring their rigid categories of right and wrong into spheres where, not right and wrong, but a multitude of balancing considerations must determine action. Their righteous disdain of expediency betrays them into extravagance and injustice. In the strait circumstances of the modern preacher, he can hardly attempt anything of the

nature of a formal argument, but must rest content with making an impression, and possibly suggesting an idea. His congregation will not assist him to resist the distinctive temptations of the patriotic preacher. The demand is for vehemence and violence, never for moderation, charity, or justice. It is the case, indeed, that the hideous barbarities, which have marked German warfare, have seemed even to moderate and considering men to demand an attitude towards the German people which is none the less equally irrational and unjust. If anything is certain, it is that the German people as a whole have been completely hoodwinked as to the causes and conduct of the War into which their Government has plunged them. The hope of the future lies, less in the conquest, than in the disillusionment, of the enemy. Once the network of lying and sophistry, in which the Germans have been living for some years past, has been broken through, and the fearful moral isolation into which they have been brought has been realized, there will be an immense revolution in the public mind of Germany, and securities for European Peace will have been created far superior to any which could be gained by the victorious entry of the Allies into Berlin. There is a real danger that so bitter a

resentment against the deluded people will possess English and French minds, that the conclusion of the War will bring less peace than an armed boycott, which could only be the pledge of renewed conflict. It must surely be the true function of Christian Preachers to work against so terrible a catastrophe, to keep steadily before their congregations the intrinsic wrongness of mere revenge, the sacred duty of forgiveness, the necessity of so carrying through this conflict that the fellowship of mankind shall be strengthened and exalted, not permanently obstructed. Just because they must needs conceive of the War as a solemn duty laid on the Nation by the Almighty, they will be no parties to any weakness in maintaining the conflict, or to any impatience of the sacrifices by which alone it can be carried through to a successful conclusion. But they will not make themselves the mouthpieces of that anti-German passion which (for intelligible reasons) is running strongly among our people. In the heated atmosphere of War, they cannot hope to escape misconception, and even abuse. The Author of these Sermons has had some experience of both. Nevertheless the Christian Preacher ought to strive so to preach that, in the retrospect of a later time, he shall be able to recall his words without shame.

For the War will not last for ever. Sooner or later Peace will return, and the passions of the conflict will begin to die down in the most exasperated minds. The work of the Christian Preacher will again become normal. Again he will be preaching the Gospel of Love, and pressing on men the difficult morality of Christ's Law. His influence for good will not be helped if his people have associated him mainly with the very violences of thought and speech, of which they themselves are growing ashamed. The Preacher of these Sermons can honestly claim never to have lost that formidable possibility from his view. The reader will judge how far his intention has been successfully expressed in his words.

H. HENSLEY HENSON.

DEANERY, DURHAM,
August 1915.

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I

JUDÆA AND BELGIUM—A PARALLEL¹

THESE OUR BRETHREN, HAVING ENDURED A SHORT PAIN THAT
BRINGETH EVERLASTING LIFE, HAVE NOW DIED UNDER GOD'S
COVENANT: BUT THOU, THROUGH THE JUDGMENT OF GOD, SHALT
RECEIVE IN JUST MEASURE THE PENALTIES OF THINE ARROGANCY.
—*2 Maccabees* vii. 36.

WE LOOK NOT AT THE THINGS WHICH ARE SEEN, BUT AT THE
THINGS WHICH ARE NOT SEEN: FOR THE THINGS WHICH ARE SEEN
ARE TEMPORAL; BUT THE THINGS WHICH ARE NOT SEEN ARE
ETERNAL.—*2 Corinthians* iv. 18.

I. TO the student of the Bible a parallel between Belgium and Judæa will have suggested itself during the last few weeks: and reflection will, I think, allow that the suggestion is well-grounded. Belgium stands at the present time, and Judæa stood some few generations before the Christian era, in the same situation. They were small states placed between mightier powers, and subjected to the influences of historic rivals. Syria on the north and Egypt on

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on September 19, 1914.

the south were wont to wage their almost continuous conflict across the soil of Judæa, just as Germany and France have fought out their quarrels on the blood-soaked soil of Belgium. I have chosen as my text two passages, the one from the Apocrypha, the other from the New Testament, which appear to me mutually interpretative, and which will serve to point the moral of the parallel to which I have referred. The first places before us one of the heroic episodes of that great struggle for freedom which the Jews, led by the Maccabees, waged against the empire of ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES: the last gives the spiritual version of that and all similar conflicts. Let me remind you of the history.

2. ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES is one of the most interesting, and at the same time one of the most baffling figures of the past. Endowed with great gifts of intellect and imagination, he yet combined with these a lack of responsibility and a capriciousness which provoked universal distrust. "His imagination and sentiment outran his reason. Pageantry, theatrical display, were his delight." We are told that "rational people were at a loss what to think of him." A modern student of the period dwells on his "Bohemianism," which "needed to be continually gratified with new colour and sensation."

He was a universal genius. He dabbled in art, in politics, in religion: and yet "ANTIOCHUS united to all his extravagances and enthusiasms some undefinable charm of boyish high spirits, of happy recklessness." He regarded himself as the apostle of Hellenic culture, and aspired to force the whole world to conform itself to the Hellenic model of thought and life. But his megalomania immersed him in enormous expenditure. "His spendthrift magnificence drove him to perpetual necessity, and before the end of his reign he had laid hands on the riches of nearly all the temples in Syria." As befitted one who in his youth had been reared under Roman influences, "the real Deity whom he recognized was the Roman war-god, and fortresses were his most sacred temples."

3. Across the path of ANTIOCHUS stood the little Jewish People, which cherished (though he suspected it not) a faith and a patriotism which neither his threats nor his cajoleries could influence. There were indeed traitors in Judæa, who were ready to bend before the storm, and to purchase ease and prosperity for themselves by accepting the enemy's bribes, but the main part of the people was sound, and when the Leader appeared, they rushed to arms for their God and their Freedom.

There shone out in that intense moment the sterner and sublimer qualities which later Hellenism knew nothing of—uncompromising fidelity to an ideal, endurance raised to the pitch of utter self-devotion, a passionate clinging to purity. They were qualities for the lack of which all the riches of Hellenic culture could not compensate. It was an epoch in history. The agony created new human types and new forms of literature which became permanent, and were inherited by Christendom. The figure of the martyr, as the Church knows it, dates from the persecution of ANTIOCHUS: all subsequent martyrologies derive from the Jewish books which recorded the sufferings of those who in that day “were strong and did exploits.”¹

4. ANTIOCHUS, following and exaggerating the practice of former kings, imagined himself an incarnation of Deity, and the surname, *Theos Epiphanes*, declared him “to be an effulgence in human form of the Divine, a god manifest in the flesh.” His policy, therefore, came into direct conflict with the religious convictions of the Jews: and the war necessarily took the character of a religious persecution on the one side, and a religious crusade on the other. The text is taken from the record of a famous episode in this religious struggle. Seven brethren with their mother were arrested, and shamefully tortured with the object of making them abjure their faith. One after the other the young men were put to death in

¹ *Vide* Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii. 174.

the presence of their mother, but she, so far from yielding to her natural affection, exerted herself to encourage them in constancy. When the turn of the youngest came, ANTIOCHUS intervened with lavish promises, if but he would renounce his faith : and when the lad refused, the King summoned his mother, and bade her counsel the boy to save himself. Promising to do so, she addressed to him a passionate exhortation to faithfulness even unto death : “FEAR NOT THIS BUTCHER, BUT, PROVING THYSELF WORTHY OF THY BRETHREN, ACCEPT THY DEATH, THAT IN THE MERCY OF GOD I MAY RECEIVE THEE AGAIN WITH THY BRETHREN.” So spake the heroic woman, but her words were not needed by her not less heroic son, who in his last words denounced the Persecutor to his face : “BUT THOU, O UNHOLY MAN AND OF ALL MOST VILE, BE NOT VAINLY LIFTED UP IN THY WILD PRIDE WITH UNCERTAIN HOPES, RAISING THY HAND AGAINST THE HEAVENLY CHILDREN ; FOR NOT YET HAST THOU ESCAPED THE JUDGMENT OF THE ALMIGHTY GOD THAT SEETH ALL THINGS. FOR THESE OUR BRETHREN, HAVING ENDURED A SHORT PAIN THAT BRINGETH EVERLASTING LIFE, HAVE NOW DIED UNDER GOD’S COVENANT : BUT THOU, THROUGH THE JUDGMENT OF GOD, SHALT RECEIVE IN

JUST MEASURE THE PENALTIES OF THINE ARROGANCY." ANTIOCHUS, exasperated beyond control, " HANDLED HIM WORSE THAN ALL THE REST. SO HE ALSO DIED PURE FROM POLLUTION, PUTTING HIS WHOLE TRUST IN THE LORD."

5. From the second century before CHRIST to the twentieth century after, from Judæa wantonly oppressed by Syria, to Belgium wantonly oppressed by Germany, from ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, to WILLIAM II.—a long step in time and circumstance, but the same issue and the same testimony!—ST. PAUL, in those sublime and moving words which form the second part of my text, has indicated both as belonging properly to the Christian profession itself : " WE LOOK NOT AT THE THINGS WHICH ARE SEEN, BUT AT THE THINGS WHICH ARE NOT SEEN : FOR THE THINGS WHICH ARE SEEN ARE TEMPORAL ; BUT THE THINGS WHICH ARE NOT SEEN ARE ETERNAL."

6. Six weeks ago Belgium was a prosperous and contented country, at peace with all its neighbours, given up to the active pursuit of those industries which prove at once the wealth of its soil and the genius of its people. Perhaps no part of Europe is better known to English folk, for its proximity to our shores has not only caused it to enter very

closely into our national history, but has enabled even our poorer people to spend their holidays in its famous and beautiful cities, the rich treasures of medieval art. This small and prosperous country has a glorious but tragic history. From the dim and distant past Belgium has been a battle-field. In the Middle Ages the valiant citizens of Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp wrung their municipal liberties from the Feudal Powers: in the sixteenth century the mortal strife of the Reformation was fought out in the Low Countries, where ALVA left the undying tradition of blood-stained violence, and countless heroes died for faith and liberty. The ambition of LOUIS XIV. and of NAPOLEON covered Belgium with battle-fields, and when at last those mighty conflicts were ended, and the modern kingdom of Belgium came into being, it was felt that some broad and effective guarantee of its independence ought to be created. That guarantee received specific expression in the Treaty to which Great Britain, France, and Germany were all parties, and which bound them all, in the event of future wars, to respect the neutrality of Belgium. Six weeks ago that Treaty was shamelessly broken by Germany, in spite of the clear declaration of Great Britain that she would not acquiesce in its breach. That was the factor which

turned the scales as far as our country was concerned. We loved peace, and we sought it: but the peace we loved was Peace with Honour, and when we were offered Peace with Shame, we never hesitated to draw the sword. So much for ourselves: look at the situation of Belgium. The King and his Government were suddenly confronted with a terrible choice—either to fall in with the demands of Germany, and, at the cost of honour and freedom, to secure immunity from the horrors and losses of war, or to stand firm as a free nation and take all the risks of Liberty. All the world knows what choice was made: all the world knows that a new page of heroism was added to the mingled record of Mankind, that our sordid age was redeemed by a valorous stand. Those brave Belgians could not have anticipated all that was to befall them. They had a right to assume that the War which they accepted would have been waged honourably, according to the custom of Christian nations. They did not reckon, they could not have reckoned, on that outburst of worse than barbarian savagery which has horrified the civilized world, and seemed to obliterate in a month all the fabric of chivalry and mercy which has been slowly built up through the Christian centuries. Bad faith has been the prelude

to grosser wrongs. The deliberate destruction of Louvain was but the most conspicuous example of a manner of warfare which has reproduced in the twentieth century the horrors of the fifth. Modern civilization also has found its Attila.

That lovely and prosperous country, not inaptly called the Garden of Europe, is being transformed into a charnel-house—waste, silent, plague-smitten—by the Armies of the German Emperor, himself the arrogant Apostle of German Culture. Might not a Belgian say, nay, may not we Friends and Allies of Belgium say, to the fell conqueror what the Jewish patriot said to ANTIOCHUS: “THESE OUR BRETHREN, HAVING ENDURED A SHORT PAIN THAT BRINGETH EVERLASTING LIFE, HAVE NOW DIED UNDER GOD’S COVENANT ; BUT THOU, THROUGH THE JUDGMENT OF GOD, SHALT RECEIVE IN JUST MEASURE THE PENALTIES OF THINE ARROGANCY ”?

7. To the shores of England are coming day after day crowds of destitute Belgians, the survivors of German warfare, homeless, moneyless, undone. They have been fighting our Battle in Belgium ; British Liberties have been at stake, not less than Belgian, throughout these terrible weeks. Every instinct of gratitude and honour unites with every sentiment of compassion to urge us to do what we

can to assist their cruel necessity. Alas, it is but little that we can do at most. We cannot bring back those who have been foully murdered, we cannot restore those fair cities, or blot out of mind those scenes of unimaginable cruelty amid which they perished,—these things are in the Books of the ETERNAL GOD, and He, the Author of all Justice, will vindicate in His own Time the rights of the Oppressed,—we can but mitigate with our gifts, and console with our sympathy, the miseries which have sent hither these poor Exiles. So much we can do: let us do it. Let us give freely and liberally to the Belgian Relief Fund, and let us send along with the money we place in the Offertory the assurance of our Homage to a brave and unfortunate People, which has redeemed a dark crisis by a noble Choice, and saved its Liberty and ours by a great Sacrifice. In the long retrospect of the Future these terrible events will be seen in their true perspective, and men will acknowledge that these lives were not wasted, these sorrows were not fruitless, but that, in and through Death and Loss, is being built on the earth a Temple not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens, a Temple of Justice and Freedom, in which the Nations will worship a Holy and Righteous God. “FOR OUR LIGHT AFFLIC-

TION, WHICH IS FOR THE MOMENT, WORKETH FOR US MORE AND MORE EXCEEDINGLY AN ETERNAL WEIGHT OF GLORY ; WHILE WE LOOK NOT AT THE THINGS WHICH ARE SEEN, BUT AT THE THINGS WHICH ARE NOT SEEN : FOR THE THINGS WHICH ARE SEEN ARE TEMPORAL ; BUT THE THINGS WHICH ARE NOT SEEN ARE ETERNAL."

II

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR¹

YE HAVE HEARD THAT IT WAS SAID, THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR, AND HATE THINE ENEMY: BUT I SAY UNTO YOU, LOVE YOUR ENEMIES.—*St. Matthew v. 43.*

1. THE Founder of the Quakers relates in his Journal that, while he lay in prison at Derby about the time of the Battle of Worcester, he was “pressed for a soldier,” and declined on religious grounds to bear arms. From his dungeon he wrote a letter to the Officers concerned in his commitment, reminding them of these words of CHRIST, which I have chosen for my text. Was GEORGE FOX right in his understanding of the LORD’S admonition? Ought Christians to refuse military service for themselves, and as citizens to repudiate the method of war? Does the Gospel really prohibit war to its professors? Are the nations of Europe to-day engaged in a great act of revolt against the Law of CHRIST? Such

¹ Preached in Norwich Cathedral on September 27, 1914.

questions can hardly be avoided. It is safe to assert that they are engaging the thought, and troubling the consciences, of many Christian folk in Christendom to-day. It will not need, then, that I should offer reasons for addressing you this afternoon on the anxious and difficult question of Christianity and War.

2. In a famous book, widely read in Germany, and now in an English translation widely read in this country, General VON BERNHARDI does not scruple to claim the sanction of Christianity for the doctrine that "war is not merely a necessary element in the life of nations, but an indispensable factor of culture, in which a true civilized nation finds the highest expression of strength and vitality." He admits, indeed, that "Christian morality is based on the law of love," but he maintains that "Christian morality is personal and social, and in its nature cannot be political." Accordingly, though "it tells us to love our individual enemies," it "does not remove the conception of enmity." Nay, CHRIST Himself said, "I AM NOT COME TO SEND PEACE ON EARTH, BUT A SWORD," and in point of fact "there never was a religion which was more combative than Christianity."

This reasoning will not bear examination. It is at once too sweeping and too limited. Even if we

allow that Christianity is directly concerned only with personal morality, we are surely not committed to the conclusion that the State may rightly do what is forbidden to the Citizen. Personal morality would be a very poor thing if it had no effect on public action. The Christian Citizen cannot leave his Christianity out of his civic life, or close his Bible when he opens his Ledger. Somehow or other, he must hold the two together—personal duty as a disciple of CHRIST, and public duty as a citizen of the State. Christianity cannot be simply ruled out of the political arena, when the issue of war and peace is presented for the citizen's decision.

3. Again, Christianity can never give the last word to any external authority, whether State or Church, when the question of personal duty is in debate. There is a higher authority which must sanction the demands of State or Church before they can be entitled to the Christian's obedience, and that is the authority of the Christian's own conscience. "WE MUST OBEY GOD RATHER THAN MAN" is a very early summary of Christian duty, and it makes short work with the supreme claim which the State is ever eager to advance. "THE KINGDOM OF GOD," said our SAVIOUR, "IS WITHIN YOU." When we consider the matter, we can see two good reasons why

Christianity should limit its direct teaching to the individual. On the one hand, it is only by making individuals right that you can really reform society which is made up of individuals: on the other hand, CHRIST brought the Truth to men by means of a Life and Teaching which were offered under historical conditions, that is, at a given time and place. Those historical conditions would pass away, and Men would find themselves in novel circumstances. Personal Duty always proceeds on the same principles: but Laws and Social Standards are in perpetual flux. The ancient world, based on slavery, and governed despotically, could provide no economic or political precedents for the right ordering of modern communities. The circumstances of our SAVIOUR'S Life have no parallel in the world as we know it: and if He had given precise directions to His contemporaries for their civic behaviour, it is difficult to see what value those directions could have possessed for the free citizens of modern England. When, however, the case of individual morality is considered, the Gospel is found to contain not only luminous precepts, each one the embodiment of a far-reaching principle, but also a Perfect Example of Personal Virtue, illustrating those precepts and applying those principles.

4. The Rule for the Individual is suggested in a Gospel, and illustrated in a Life, but it is not laid down in a code. Indeed, such is the nature of the Christian Rule that it could not possibly be expressed in a series of regulations determined with relation to a specific epoch, or suggested by a specific social system. It is essentially an attitude of the mind that is required of us, not a prescript manner of acting ; and that Christian Attitude of Mind must reveal itself variously as the occasion requires, and the situation compels. It is evident, therefore, that we must not seek in the New Testament the political and economic guidance which God rather means us to find in the experience of Mankind, slowly disclosing the lines of rational human progress.

5. Besides, when we read the Gospels, and try to draw from them a system of practical morals, we must always remember that Christianity was designed for the acceptance of men like ourselves living in the world, and taking their full share of all the normal burdens of the world's citizenship. "I PRAY NOT THAT THOU SHOULDEST TAKE THEM FROM THE WORLD, BUT THAT THOU SHOULDEST KEEP THEM FROM THE EVIL ONE" was the SAVIOUR'S prayer for His disciples. We may rightly, therefore, set aside any understanding of

the Gospels which would really make them useless for us here and now, when we seek to do our duty in the world. Again and again devoted believers have rebelled against this rule of sound interpretation, and have insisted even passionately on a literal understanding of the Words of CHRIST. Hostile critics of Christianity, such as Julian in the fourth century, and Voltaire in the eighteenth, have applauded them, rightly perceiving that their own denunciation of CHRIST'S Teaching as essentially impracticable gains considerable plausibility from such unpractical theorizing of Christians themselves. But experience has never failed to rebuke this undisciplined and irrational fervour. Sooner or later the advocates of literalism are driven into seeking artificial conditions of life, or are forced in spite of their theories to accept working compromises, which presuppose the abandonment of their main principle. Such examples to the contrary as may be suggested will hardly bear examination. Thus the most famous of them all, the Quaker rule in Pennsylvania,¹ while it must always be regarded as a notable instance of the power of the Christian Ideal to exalt men above

¹ Vide *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, by Rufus M. Jones, p. 503.

conventional standards of virtue, can hardly be allowed to prove the success of the attempt to apply the Sermon on the Mount literally to human life. For the Quakers did not rely wholly on their moral appeal. They adopted a system of regularly bribing the Indians to keep the peace, a system which was probably not wholesome for the Indians themselves, and cannot be said to be distinctively Christian. Moreover, the refusal of the Quakers to serve in the Army on the ground that Christianity forbade fighting, could not really exempt them from responsibility for the military procedures which they denounced, for not only did they enjoy to the full the security which the Army and Navy guaranteed, but as tax-payers they shared in maintaining these Forces. In fact, they fought by deputy, pleading that conscience forbade them to fight in person: but in morals it is a well-established rule that what a man does by deputy he really, in point of moral responsibility, does himself. The Quaker, if he would be as logical as he is conscientious, must shake off the dust of his feet against every civilized government, and withdraw beyond the confines of civil order altogether.

6. Moreover, such direct and abrupt action does

not seem to accord with the revealed method of CHRIST. Christian Morality is essentially and professedly progressive. The Quaker wishes to do at a stroke what can only be done gradually. War is not abolished while men regard one another with such envy and mistrust as to maintain armaments. The striving of traders one against another in eager competition is in the same moral category as violent conflict. The Law-courts witness breaches of the Golden Rule of CHRIST scarcely less extreme than those of the Battle-field. Until the springs of conduct have been cleansed, it is vain to speak of the abolition of war. Just because the Reformation of the World is gradual and progressive, it is vain to appeal to precedents as fixing the present duty of Christians. In so far as the Quakers protested against the cast-iron casuistry of the Churches, their protest was sound. From the first such rigidity was disallowed. The Disciples were taught to expect fresh revelations of duty. "I HAVE YET MANY THINGS TO SAY UNTO YOU, BUT YE CANNOT BEAR THEM NOW. HOWBEIT WHEN HE, THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH, IS COME, HE SHALL GUIDE YOU INTO ALL THE TRUTH"—so the LORD spake, and the History of the Church is the fulfilment of His Words. Precedents, there-

fore, are no safe guides for Christians when they seek to know their duty. They must rather ask what may be the fresh application of the MIND OF CHRIST which the new circumstances are calling for. It is the principal defect of the older casuists that they are dominated by precedents. The Centurions mentioned in the Gospel are made to justify military service. ONESIMUS, the converted slave sent back by ST. PAUL to his master PHILEMON, is made to justify slavery. The Patriarchs are even made to justify polygamy. It was suggested satirically two generations ago, when the moral rightness of slavery was hotly debated in America, that the Slave-owners of the South ought to set up statues to ONESIMUS in gratitude for the services he had rendered them. Once grasp the proper progressiveness of Christian morality, and all such appeals to precedent become futile and misleading. For the Christian Society has learned something in the course of its long and chequered history; and the Christian conscience has been educated in the School of CHRIST, so that the moral standard itself has been raised, and what seemed tolerable even to a ST. PAUL is now universally judged to be intolerable. Accordingly, if we are to decide that War is not neces-

sarily prohibited to a Christian Man, we shall have to find better reasons for our decision than those which the precedents of Christian Warfare can give us.

7. The Quaker "testimony" against War, mistaken as a rule for present guidance, has priceless value as a protest against Christian acquiescence in a lower level of practice than the Christian conscience really sanctions. Certainly a great change is passing over Christian opinion with respect to War. If we are still compelled to admit that War may be indispensable, we are confident that most of the reasons which have been offered for Wars in the past are insufficient, and that only in the plain interest of justice may Christians sanction the dread Appeal to the Sword. General sentiment is moving in a Christian direction. The immense popularity of TOLSTOY'S writings is an evidence of this. Impracticable and exaggerated though his doctrines are, they yet make an appeal to the general conscience which is impressively successful. Everywhere men allow that his indictment of current European morality is substantially just. We cannot ignore this, or read our New Testament without the suggestive commentary which the great Russian Prophet offers. The doctrine of VON BERNHARDI

and all that brutal school whose representative he is, shocks the Christian Conscience, and only needs to be plainly stated to a free modern democracy, trained in the fundamental ideas of Christianity, in order to be indignantly repudiated. If we, professed Christians and citizens of a free democracy, fight, it is assuredly not because we believe in "the inevitableness, the idealism, and the blessing of war, as an indispensable and stimulating law of development," but because we, solemnly weighing our religious and civil duty, can see no other course rightly open to us. We hold with EDMUND BURKE, himself the passionate apologist of Britain's long war against Napoleon, and with an even more anxious conviction :

The blood of man should never be shed but to redeem the blood of man. It is well shed for our family, for our friends, for our God, for our country, for our kind. The rest is vanity ; the rest is crime.

8. Reluctantly but decisively then we reach our conclusion. War is indispensable in the world as we know it. Civilized Mankind has not yet succeeded in discovering a substitute for the Sword in certain cases. If it be too much to say with BURKE that "War is the sole means of justice amongst nations" (for much has been effected, and more

might be, by Arbitration), yet there is no known alternative to War when Power repudiates the restraints of international law and fundamental morality, and pursues its selfish object without regard to the rights and interests of nations. Then to refuse to fight is to hand over the control of the world to Violence, and to betray the Cause of Righteousness. The outbreak of the immense conflict which is now desolating Europe, and making its influence felt throughout the world, is proof of the necessity of War in the present stage of human civilization ; but the extreme reluctance with which the necessity was admitted by the Statesmen of the Allied Powers, and especially by our own, is itself an impressive indication of the disgust with which the civilized conscience regards War in itself, and also a prophecy of the coming of a time when the last obstacles will have been overcome, and War will have passed for ever out of the admitted procedures of civilized mankind.

9. CHRIST'S Religion is pre-eminently a Power for Righteousness on the Earth, and therefore so long as the state of the world clothes War with the sublime character of a Moral Instrument, vindicating Justice against Oppression, so long will Christians recognize it as legitimate. They will remember that

their MASTER did Himself illustrate the necessity of using force against wickedness when He cleansed the Temple with holy violence, and delivered that great denunciation of "SCRIBES AND PHARISEES, HYPOCRITES," which rings through the centuries like a battle-cry of the Lord. CHRIST'S Religion is in human society as a Leaven and a Light, an inner principle making always for Justice and Peace, and a revelation of Ideals which beckon on the advancing race towards its true goal. CHRIST'S Religion bears on the World through men and women who are filled with CHRIST'S Spirit, and striving to live according to the Law of His Example. The outbreak of a great War, albeit righteous in purpose and unavoidable, calls us all to searching of heart and criticism of life. How far are we really living in the spirit of the LORD'S Teaching? How far is our civic influence telling as a power for equity and forbearance in political life? How far are we setting forward in society those principles of "PEACE AND GOODWILL," which are assuredly the very "MARKS OF JESUS"? The Abolition of War will only then take place, when those principles are so generally accepted by civilized peoples, that the whole weight of public opinion in every nation will be adverse to policies of aggression and methods of violence; and

the task of Statesmen will be, not to build up vast armaments, but to establish justice throughout the whole complicated fabric of society; not to thwart the progress of other nations, but to work harmoniously with them for the common welfare of Mankind. Some progress has been made. VON BERNHARDI'S Praises of War have an archaic sound, and surprise as much as they shock those who first hear them. This War is, we may dare to hope, destined, by the Governing Mercy of the ALMIGHTY, to cleanse the vision of the nations, and to clear their path, so that in the Retrospect it will be seen to bring appreciably nearer the Final Overthrow of the Theory and Practice of International Violence, and to hasten the Kingdom of the Prince of Peace.

III

THE PARADOX OF CHRISTIANITY¹

THE FOOLISHNESS OF GOD IS WISER THAN MEN; AND THE WEAKNESS OF GOD IS STRONGER THAN MEN.—*1 Corinthians i. 25.*

I. “THE WEAKNESS OF GOD”—this is a strange phrase in the mouth of a religious man, and must needs move us to ask what it must be designed to convey. We speak of God as the Almighty, All-wise, Omniscient Person, Whose Will fashioned and Whose Power sustains the illimitable universe. If we are Christians we add to these attributes another and higher quality—“GOD IS LOVE.” In Him we find the original Source of all those gracious sentiments which combine in our notion of Morality—justice, consideration, charity, purity, kindness. How, then, are we to bring the notions of “FOOLISHNESS” and “WEAKNESS” into relation with God? ST. PAUL, we know, was an ardent thinker, and one, moreover, whose fervent mind could utter itself in

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on Christmas Day, 1914.

words of eloquence, passion, and pathos. His imagination took fire at the spectacle of Divine Activity, which he was actually witnessing as he went about preaching the Gospel. He saw the strangest paradoxes, not in mental theory, where perhaps paradox is normal, but on the plane of experience, where men commonly move along beaten paths of "use and wont." He saw success following on a course of action which might seem directly calculated with a view to failure. He saw a teaching, which seemed destitute of every element of attractiveness, winning the acceptance of men. He was, in fact, moving in a sphere within which the conventional estimates of strength and weakness, wisdom and folly, seemed to lose validity. The Gospel which he proclaimed seemed to stultify the ancestral prudence of mankind. "WHERE IS THE WISE?" he cries; "WHERE IS THE SCRIBE? WHERE IS THE DISPUTER OF THIS WORLD? HATH NOT GOD MADE FOOLISH THE WISDOM OF THE WORLD?"

2. On Christmas Day the Paradox of Christianity is forced on our notice. We go back to the fountain-head of Christian History, and we find ourselves in presence of weakness and obscurity—a peasant Mother with her new-born Child in a

Stable. "THERE WAS NO ROOM FOR THEM IN THE INN." The devout fancy of believers has felt an irresistible attraction to this tender scene, and has woven about it a fair fabric of sacred legend, the raw materials of Christian Art. "THE WEAKNESS OF GOD" is displayed in that poverty and neglect; the "FOOLISHNESS OF GOD" is certified by the accumulation upon the outcast BABE of the greatest Hopes of Mankind. ST. PAUL as an educated Jew, trained in the school of the Pharisees, would feel the full force of the paradox implicit in the Gospel. His imagination had been fed from childhood with the glorious dreams of the Prophets; his opening intelligence had been directed to the great history of his nation; his manly studies had been concerned with the sublime mission and destiny of Israel. So powerful had been his prejudices against the Gospel, that he had put himself at the head of a vehement opposition to its first preachers, and emerged first into notice in the sinister character of a Persecutor. Yet he had been won to acceptance of the repulsive message, and had been moved to become himself its herald. His own experience, he saw, was being repeated in the case of countless others of his countrymen, and, when he went outside the boundaries of Palestine, and

brought this strange Gospel to the larger world of the Roman Empire, he found that men, whose antecedents were entirely different from those of his fellow Jews, were not less responsive to his preaching. He perforce acknowledged the facts which his own eyes beheld, but he confessed at the same time his inability to explain them on any ground of recognized reasoning. He could only picture the course of the Gospel in the amazing phrase of the text: "THE FOOLISHNESS OF GOD IS WISER THAN MEN; AND THE WEAKNESS OF GOD IS STRONGER THAN MEN."

3. In a strangely interesting passage a famous Jew of the nineteenth century, BENJAMIN DISRAELI, has described the same paradox as that which stirred the wonder of ST. PAUL. He imagines the modern Jew as rising above the prejudices of his training, and realizing the majestic scale of the triumphs of Him Whom his ancestors rejected:

"Perhaps, too, in this enlightened age as his mind expands and he takes a comprehensive view of this period of progress, the pupil of MOSES may ask himself, whether all the princes of the house of DAVID have done so much for the Jews as that Prince who was crucified on Calvary? Had it not been for Him, the Jews would have been comparatively unknown, or known only as a high oriental caste which had lost its country. Has He not made their

history the most famous in the world? Has not He hung up their laws in every temple? Has not He vindicated all their wrongs? Has not He avenged the victory of TITUS and conquered the CÆSARS? What successes did they anticipate from their Messiah? The wildest dreams of their Rabbis have been far exceeded. Has not JESUS conquered Europe and changed its name into Christendom? All countries that refuse the cross wither, while the whole of the new world is devoted to the Semitic principle and its most glorious offspring the Jewish faith, and the time will come when the vast communities and countless myriads of America and Australia, looking upon Europe as Europe now looks upon Greece, and wondering how so small a space could have achieved such great deeds, will still find music in the songs of Sion and solace in the parables of Galilee.

“These may be dreams,” concludes DISRAELI, “but there is one fact which none can contest. Christians may continue to persecute Jews, and Jews may persist in disbelieving Christians, but who can deny that JESUS OF NAZARETH, the Incarnate Son of the Most High God, is the eternal glory of the Jewish race?”¹

4. All this is true, and not without a certain dramatic impressiveness, but it does not satisfy us. For, we know too well that such an external triumph as history has recorded may consist with spiritual failure. Under the Banner of the Cross the old evils may persist. Injustice is not the less injustice because the oppressor bears a Christian name. The

¹ *Vide Lord George Bentinck*, p. 506.

famous word "Christendom" may pass on men's lips less as a description than as a satire. They will set in contrast the Ideal of the Gospel, and the habitual procedure of Christians; and they will ask wherein the world is better for its new language and fashion. Never, perhaps, were such misgivings so painful and so frequent as at the present time. Our Christendom seems to present the disproof of Christianity as a working system of morals. Our Christmas carols, sung to the accompaniment of the Cannon, and heard amid the clamours of Battle, seem empty and pointless. Are we indeed witnessing the dramatic downfall of a famous Faith, the dismaying exposure of an ancient and treasured Fiction? On every hand men ask, in scorn or in anguish, the question which so distressing a discrepancy between theory and practice, promise and fulfilment, must needs suggest:

And is this little all that was to be?
Where is the gloriously-decisive change,
Metamorphosis the immeasurable
Of human clay to divine gold, we looked
Should, in some poor sort, justify its price?
Had an adept of the mere Rosy Cross
Spent his life to consummate the Great Work,
Would not we start to see the stuff it touched
Yield not a grain more than the vulgar got
By the old smelting process years ago?

If this were sad to see in just the sage
Who should profess so much, perform no more,
What is it when suspected in that Power
Who undertook to make and made the world,
Devised and did effect man, body and soul,
Ordained salvation for them both, and yet . . .
Well, is the thing we see, Salvation ?

The very bitterness of the disappointment discloses the splendour of the promise, and the ardour with which men's hearts had made response. Be sure that in this dark time, when the tradition of two millenniums of Christianity seems to have failed, and civilized Mankind to have rushed back with dreadful fervour to the Savagery which it had professed to abandon, there are many minds in which the poet's challenge is echoed, and which can find no other answer to his question than a dolorous negative: "THE HARVEST IS PASSED, THE SUMMER IS ENDED: AND WE ARE NOT SAVED."

At such a time of dismay and depression we may well remember that Paradox is the chosen Method of the ALMIGHTY, and that His Presence is ever Veiled :

God moves in a mysterious way,
His wonders to perform ;
He plants His footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm.

“THE FOOLISHNESS OF GOD IS WISER THAN MEN ; AND THE WEAKNESS OF GOD IS STRONGER THAN MEN.”

5. In human experience there are two kinds of power, which may combine, but may also, and perhaps more easily conflict, and which in their interplay give to History its whole spiritual significance. We call the one Moral, and the other Physical. When ALMIGHTY GOD of His infinite compassion came to the rescue of Mankind, He chose as the means of redemption the first and not the last. In such a world as this, a world of brute force, of cruelty and cunning, of manifold hypocrisies and triumphant frauds, of sophistries and working fictions, the notion of conquering men by the gentle persuasiveness of self-denial, and winning them by “THE BEAUTY OF HOLINESS,” had an appearance of sheer folly. You must meet force by force, craft by craft, men said, uttering thus the miserable conclusion to which their experience had led them. CHRIST was in the world to illustrate a better method. He addressed Himself, not to men’s selfish fears and hopes, but to the good spirit within them. He chose His agents, not from the dominant forces of society, but from the lowly and unregarded factors of life. The Christmas Story is a Parable of

Redemption. We see the chosen of Heaven to be the weakest of Earth—Mother and Child, humble Shepherds, an aged SIMEON and ANNA, a poor stable of an Inn, a village Carpenter's home. These provide the historic setting of the Redemption, which was to be achieved in the Life and Death of JESUS.

6. Moral Conquest is gradual, hidden, intermittent, in the end complete. Physical conquest is immediate, apparent, and unreal. Man lives in two spheres at once, on the earth and yet not of it, a creature of time, and the child of eternity. And these two methods, the moral and the physical, answer to the two aspects of his being. He is always tempted to give himself entirely to that interest which is nearest and most insistent, to put his trust in visible forces, and to ignore the forces which are invisible. Accordingly, the course of CHRIST'S March through the centuries has been curiously chequered. There are dark times of reaction, when the world seems rushing back to Paganism, and not less bright epochs of spiritual victory, when the False is visibly defeated by the True. And sometimes we are tempted to lose sight of all save that which is forced on our eyes.

7. If we look again at Christendom, I think our

first depressing reflections will be corrected. We shall be most impressed not by the broken faith and brutal warfare of Germany,—Belgium wasted and in ruins, Holland and England filled with exiles, our peaceful coast towns shamefully attacked, our hospitals full of innocent sufferers—but by the vigour and the volume of the protest which these horrors have aroused. We say, and truly, that in Germany there has been a fearful repudiation of the principles of Christendom: we may say not less truly, that the opposition which Germany has provoked, demonstrates the strength of the hold which those principles possess. Remember, Physical Force becomes charged with moral energy when it is the servant of Justice. The Battle-field becomes radiant with moral Witness when its carnage is transfigured by unselfish devotion, and its anguish is mitigated by ministries of love. CHRIST has not failed if, in this hour of natural exasperation, we trample on the desire for vengeance, and set our minds firmly on the victory of Justice. CHRIST has not failed if, as they fight their difficult way across the scenes of wanton destruction, our Soldiers remain steadily true to the humane and generous sentiments which they learned in Christian homes. CHRIST has not failed if you in these months of

training at home, and presently in the campaign abroad, set yourselves resolutely against those sins of the flesh which too easily assail you. CHRIST has not failed if you, for His Sake, reverence Women and Children, resist the temptation to excess, and guard your own character from shame.

This must needs be a sad Christmas. The light has been quenched in thousands of homes. Beneath the black cloud of recent bereavement the voices of domestic joy are silent, and the Festival is not. We celebrate the Birthday of "THE PRINCE OF PEACE" amid the sinister evidences of desperate conflict. The Christmas worshippers are vested in the garb of war. Yet the Echoes of the Angels' Promise may still be heard by all who, with humility and faith, will listen; and our warfare, waged in purity of motive and in chivalry of method for ends of righteousness, shall help to hasten the Day of its fulfilment :

Yea, Truth and Justice then
Will down return to men,
Orb'd in a rainbow; and, like glories wearing,
Mercy will sit between,
Throned in celestial sheen,
With radiant feet the tissued clouds down steering,
And heaven, as at some festival,
Will open wide the gates of her high palace hall.

IV

SALT AND LIGHT¹

YE ARE THE SALT OF THE EARTH : BUT IF THE SALT HAVE LOST ITS SAVOUR, WHEREWITH SHALL IT BE SALTED ? IT IS THENCEFORTH GOOD FOR NOTHING, BUT TO BE CAST OUT AND TRODDEN UNDER FOOT OF MEN. YE ARE THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD. A CITY SET ON A HILL CANNOT BE HID.—*St. Matthew v. 13, 14.*

i. THE anniversary of the consecration of a parish Church is an occasion, not only of thanksgiving, but also of sober reflection, and, in a year so filled with solemn and tragical events, it is the latter, rather than the former, which will take priority. The spectacle which Christendom presents at this moment is so dark and menacing, that every considering Christian man must needs ask himself many grave questions, and strive to find their answers. It is not merely the strange and perplexing fact that the nations which make up the civilized world, and which together profess the

¹ Preached in St. Ignatius, Sunderland, on the fifth Sunday after Trinity, July 4, 1915, on the occasion of the Dedication Festival.

common creed of civilized humanity, are now locked in a conflict, of which (after nearly a year of unprecedented slaughter and devastation) we can see no probable end; but it is the far stranger and more perplexing fact, that the Christian Church has been wholly impotent to arrest this cruel conflict, and even seems in some directions to assist it. Very anxiously Christians are inquiring what ought to be the function of the Christian Society in the world, and how it has come about that, in this terrible crisis of human fates, no voice of guidance, and no hand of restraint, has come from the Church to the help of Mankind. It seems to me, therefore, that on this occasion my subject is dictated to me by the actual circumstances in which your annual Festival is taking place; and for my text I have chosen some words from that great Discourse, "the Sermon on the Mount," in which our SAVIOUR presents to His disciples a picture of His Church, as He designed and required that it should be. By two significant metaphors He sets forth the cardinal characters of the Christian Church, and thus gives us a standard by which to judge ourselves as called in the present time to sustain the Christian Claim in the world. "YE ARE THE SALT OF THE EARTH," that is the one

metaphor ; "YE ARE THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD," that is the other.

2. The two metaphors have a distinct reference : the one, that of the "SALT," indicates the secret and indirect action of Christianity as an influence within men's hearts, silently but inevitably affecting their action, and shaping their visions of duty ; the other, that of the "LIGHT," indicates rather the public and direct action of Christianity as a leading and teaching Power, bringing before men the Truth, and laying down for their guidance a righteous Law. The publicity of this character is further emphasized by the added metaphor of the "CITY SET ON A HILL" which "CANNOT BE HID." We might, perhaps, distinguish the two metaphors of the text not untruly by saying, that, while the "SALT" refers to the influence of individual Christians on the course of social life, the "LIGHT" refers rather to the action of the Christian Church as an organized and continuing Institution. No doubt the two aspects of Christianity, the individual and the institutional, are very closely connected, for individuals express themselves in the institutions by which they order their lives and achieve their objects ; and, conversely, institutions are a rough but not essentially unfair criterion of the individuals

who created, and are working them. Nevertheless the two are not so closely connected as to make it impossible to consider them separately ; nay it can even happen that they may fall apart so widely that the public action of the institutions may conflict with the general feeling and belief of the very individuals whom they pretend to represent. In the text at any rate, if we are understanding it rightly, a distinction is made, and in this discourse we shall assume it. Let us read the words once more, then, with their twofold reference, to the individual disciple, and to the organized Church, in our minds : "YE ARE THE SALT OF THE EARTH : BUT IF THE SALT HAVE LOST ITS SAVOUR, WHEREWITH SHALL IT BE SALTED ? IT IS THENCEFORTH GOOD FOR NOTHING, BUT TO BE CAST OUT AND TRODDEN UNDER FOOT OF MEN. YE ARE THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD. A CITY SET ON A HILL CANNOT BE HID."

3. In the economy of the household, from which the metaphor is evidently drawn, "SALT" performs two purposes, both very important, indeed indispensable. It makes food palatable, which apart from it could hardly be eaten ; and it preserves food from corruption, which without it would have to be cast away as useless. "CAN THAT WHICH

HATH NO SAVOUR BE EATEN WITHOUT SALT?" asks JOB, "OR IS THERE ANY TASTE IN THE WHITE OF AN EGG? MY SOUL REFUSETH TO TOUCH THEM; THEY ARE AS LOATHSOME MEAT TO ME." Christians are to make life worth living, as "SALT" makes tasteless meat worth eating. This is a somewhat surprising view of the proper effect of Christianity on the individual. Too often the Christian Life has been pictured in the gloomy colours of asceticism or Puritanism, and the claim of CHRIST has been expressed in a series of restraints and prohibitions, which at every point seem to insult the liberty of human nature, and to cramp its powers. It was not so that discipleship presented itself to the first believers. Not bondage but enfranchisement was its paramount character as they saw and experienced it. Indeed, so markedly was this the case, that their timorous spirits hardly reached to the fulness of their spiritual inheritance, and were ever prone to fall back to some familiar servitude. Accordingly, we find ST. PAUL often addressing his converts in terms of earnest remonstrance: "WITH FREEDOM DID CHRIST SET US FREE: STAND FAST THEREFORE, AND BE NOT ENTANGLED AGAIN IN A YOKE OF BONDAGE." "ALL THINGS ARE YOURS," he

wrote to the Corinthians, adding solemnly, "AND YE ARE CHRIST'S; AND CHRIST IS GOD'S." This liberty in CHRIST made it possible for Christians to enjoy the beautiful world, in which the CREATOR had placed them, without any dreadful suspicion that its very beauty was a subtle snare designed to entrap their souls. All the evil suggestions of Dualism, which in some form or other permeated ancient religious thinking, were disallowed by the Gospel: "FOR EVERY CREATURE OF GOD IS GOOD, AND NOTHING IS TO BE REJECTED, IF IT BE RECEIVED WITH THANKSGIVING: FOR IT IS SANCTIFIED THROUGH THE WORD OF GOD AND PRAYER." To this freedom to use the gifts of Nature because they came from God, the sole Author of all Things, and therefore could only be made the instruments of sin by such misuse as implied a violation of God's immutable Law of Right, the Gospel added that release from the dread of final extinction in Death, which clothed all temporal experiences with a new greatness. The relationships of society were the greater by being seen in connexion with the Belief in the Resurrection to Life Everlasting; and all the many reciprocal duties and interests of the earthly life came to wear a sublime aspect when all were regarded as the materials of a Divine

Service, and the subjects of a Divine Judgment. In all these ways, then, Christianity saved human life from sinking into the despondency of cynicism, and into the sensuality which cynicism too often suggested. Life in the world was sweeter, brighter, and freer, for the disciplines and hopes of Christianity.

4. While, then, the "SALT" added savour to life, it brought also a preserving grace. Human society, stricken by the mysterious and irrecoverable malady of its sin, is always tending to corruption, and this fate is only staved off by the presence within it of a Divine Resisting Energy, which beats back and overcomes the disintegrating forces which make for Death—that is the picture which is suggested to us by the words of CHRIST. The close observer of human society will perforce recognize the presence within it of factors which tend to dissolve and break it up, and which must be kept in check by other factors of a contrary tendency, if society is to cohere. Of all the cohesive forces which hold society together, none can compare with that of the Religion of Purity and Love, which makes men self-suppressing in their personal action, and binds them together in pure and loving homes. The strength of the State

consists in the quality of its citizens, and in the purity of its family life ; and these are secured when CHRIST'S Religion is faithfully accepted and honestly obeyed. Self-sacrifice and self-respect, not the one without the other, but the two inseparably united, is the unique gift of genuine Christianity. Withdraw this from the sum of social life, and you have withdrawn its preserving principle. I think a candid study of social history would bear out the declaration of CHRIST, as He thus addressed His disciples : "YE ARE THE SALT OF THE EARTH, BUT IF THE SALT HAVE LOST ITS SAVOUR, WHEREWITH SHALL IT BE SALTED ? IT IS THENCEFORTH GOOD FOR NOTHING, BUT TO BE CAST OUT AND TRODDEN UNDER FOOT OF MEN."

5. Christians are not a mere collection of individuals, but the members of a spiritual society, the citizens of a heavenly city ; and that city has its visible representation on earth in the organized Churches of history. There was once a time when Christians thought that the earthly representative could be a very close replica of the heavenly society : that its sanctity and unity could be so plainly expressed, that the visible Church might be identified with the invisible : but History has corrected this error. First, the holiness of the Church failed, and

then the unity ; so that now we cannot speak of the Catholic Church as a single institution governed by a single polity, but have to picture it rather as a large number of societies, variously organized, yet preserving certain identifying marks, and serving certain indispensable purposes. You remember the definition of the XIXth Article, which was drafted in full view of the distractions of a divided Church :

The visible Church of CHRIST is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered, according to CHRIST's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

6. This visible Church was to be conspicuous among men as a "LIGHT," teaching them the truth, and giving them moral guidance. What has History to say of this version of the part which the Christian Church has to play in the drama of human life ? Has the Church as an organized society been the "LIGHT OF THE WORLD"? Perhaps no candid inquirer would deny that this was the case in the beginnings of Christian History. When the famous Saint, to whose memory this Church is dedicated, ST. IGNATIUS, fulfilled his ministry, it was the case that the little Christian brotherhoods in the cities of the Roman Empire over whom he ruled as Bishop,

and to which he directed his letters, were conspicuously marked off from the Pagan communities, out of which they had been drawn, by a moral superiority so unquestionable, that even observant and fair-minded opponents allowed it. This, indeed, was the point of difference between Christians and Pagans, on which the Apologists were accustomed to dwell, and which the critics of Christianity found it most difficult to refute. Christians lived on a higher moral plane than their Pagan neighbours, following a higher law of conduct. In other respects they fell in with the ways of the world in which they were living, but its standard of morality they would not accept. Let me read to you a description of those early Christians which was written not many years after ST. IGNATIUS was martyred in Rome. It is an anonymous writing; and is addressed to one DIOGNETUS, who is thought by some students to have been one of the teachers of the famous Stoic Emperor, MARCUS AURELIUS.

Every foreign country is (for Christians) their fatherland, and every fatherland is a foreign country. They marry as all men, they bear children, but they do not expose their offspring. They offer free hospitality, but guard their purity. Their lot is cast "in the flesh," but they do not live "after the flesh." They pass their time upon the earth, but they have their citizenship in

heaven. They obey the appointed laws, and they surpass the laws in their own lives.

It was this moral superiority which attracted the Pagans to the Christian Church. All the goodness which was in them drew towards the persecuted Christians, whose purity and love they could not but recognize. In later times, when our barbarous forefathers broke in on the disorganized Roman Empire, the Church came among them as a "LIGHT" from heaven, showing them the way in which they should walk. The famous missionaries, whose names are treasured in this part of England as the founders of our Christianity, AIDAN, OSWALD, CUTHBERT, and the rest, were bringing to their contemporaries a higher standard of conduct than any which they had hitherto known. Far into the Middle Ages this would have been true. When just 700 years ago King JOHN was compelled to issue Magna Carta (which all Englishmen regard as the historic foundation of their civil liberties), the Church, headed by its Clergy, was plainly superior to the State in its conception of government. The State, as we know it now, just, strong, merciful, has taken from the Christian Church its principles of action. Indeed it is not wholly extravagant to apply to the modern State the great words of the

Apocalypse: "THE KINGDOM OF THE WORLD IS BECOME THE KINGDOM OF OUR LORD, AND OF HIS CHRIST"—words which are fitly written over the High Altar at Westminster Abbey, the place where the Kings of England receive their crown. When we pass from the days that have gone to the present age, is it still the case that the Christian Church is a Light to the World?

7. It is here that the failure of the Churches to prevent this fearful War, and their failure within Germany and Austria to protest against the vile deeds in Belgium and France which have shocked all just men, and which seem to form a normal part of the accepted doctrine of war as taught in Germany, have so dismaying an aspect. It is here that the dreadful doubt rises on the mind whether the Church of the Twentieth Century has not betrayed its trust, and become as that savourless salt, of which the LORD said that it was fit only to be "CAST OUT AND TRODDEN UNDER FOOT OF MEN."

8. The trial of the Church in this country is only beginning. So far, we, as Christians, have had the easy task of urging forward our countrymen along a path which they had already chosen. We could not stand by inactive while treaties were trampled under foot, and nameless outrages wreaked

on an innocent people. We could not suffer that noble heritage of Liberty and Empire, which we have received from our forefathers, to be stolen from us by the brutal aggression of the German Autocracy. Our way was straight ; our obligations were evident. To flinch at this dreadful crisis would have been to merit the malediction of the Prophetess : "CURSE YE MEROZ, SAITH THE ANGEL OF THE LORD, CURSE YE BITTERLY THE INHABITANTS THEREOF ; BECAUSE THEY CAME NOT TO THE HELP OF THE LORD, THE HELP OF THE LORD AGAINST THE MIGHTY." So far our way has been easy enough : we have but given free course to our patriotism, and brought in our religion to consecrate our warfare. But we may be sure that the time will come when Christian People will have to consider anxiously and solemnly what their duty requires of them. As the War proceeds, and brings fresh provocation, the spirit of a natural exasperation is stirring in English minds, and sometimes uttering itself in proposals which no amount of casuistry can bring into harmony with the Religion of CHRIST. There is a demand for "reprisals," which hardly has a Christian sound : for vengeance, which is plainly anti-Christian. When the bitter struggle shall end —and may God in His mercy hasten the day !—

there will be the difficult question of arranging terms of peace ; and, then, there will be great need of Christian Justice and Forbearance, if the worst mistakes of conquerors are not to be repeated. The Church of CHRIST is not to be merely the parasite of the popular temper, echoing the cries of the moment, hallowing the passions of the crisis. It is to be a Power of Mercy, Consideration, and Generosity, a restraining hand laid on the fierce resentments of warfare, a rallying-point for all those reconciling sentiments which war engenders. Let us try to think justly, and considerately of the German People, with whom by God's Providence we must live as neighbours, and who, when this hideous madness has spent itself, will be brought into close intercourse with us again. At present they are deceived and hoodwinked by every form of lying sophistry. Most of them believe genuinely that they were wantonly attacked, and that they are fighting for their country's independence. Not their worst enemy can deny that they have laid down their lives with reckless courage ; none can refuse a meed of admiration to their resolution and self-sacrifice. When the lies are finally exposed, and the German Nation learns at last how foully it has been wronged by its own rulers, there will be a

change of feeling, a desire to return to fellowship with the civilized world, from which in its ignorance and frenzy it broke away, a national repentance. Then the test of the English Church will have come. Then it will be seen whether the "SALT" has lost its savour, and the "LIGHT" has been darkened. I beg of you to think over these things: to ask grace from God that your personal contribution to the general influence of English Christianity on the course of events may be worthy of the Holy Name by which you are called. "YE ARE THE SALT OF THE EARTH: BUT IF THE SALT HAVE LOST ITS SAVOUR, WHEREWITH SHALL IT BE SALTED? IT IS THENCEFORTH GOOD FOR NOTHING, BUT TO BE CAST OUT AND TRODDEN UNDER FOOT OF MEN. YE ARE THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD. A CITY SET ON A HILL CANNOT BE HID."

V

GOOD SOLDIERS OF JESUS CHRIST¹

SUFFER HARDSHIP WITH ME, AS A GOOD SOLDIER OF CHRIST JESUS. NO SOLDIER ON SERVICE ENTANGLETH HIMSELF IN THE AFFAIRS OF THIS LIFE; THAT HE MAY PLEASE HIM WHO ENROLLED HIM AS A SOLDIER.—*2 Timothy ii. 3, 4.*

i. THE last few days have been filled with momentous events. A fortnight ago nothing was further from the thought of the ordinary Englishman than War; to-day we know that we have entered on a conflict so vast in its range that none can foresee its results, save only that the world as we have known it must be dramatically unlike the world which the War will leave. There is one circumstance which makes this War different from every war which Englishmen have waged in the past. Then wars were decided upon, and carried through, by Governments without any real understanding on the

¹ Preached to the Territorial Troops in the Cathedral at a special service on Sunday, August 9, 1914.

part of the people, upon whom the brunt of the struggle nevertheless fell. There was little knowledge of events ; but few could read and write ; newspapers were costly and ill-informed. Now every stage in the development of policy has to be expounded to the people. Everybody can read, buy newspapers, and make his opinion known. Accordingly, War has become for Englishmen a far more solemn and responsible thing than in the past. There is none of you who is not able, if you will, to know why it is that our Government has felt compelled as the Representative of the Empire, and the Guardian of its Honour and Interest, to take part in this terrible conflict, which has broken out with such dismaying suddenness.

2. Why are you drawn from your ordinary work in order to be ready for fighting ? For two sufficient reasons, the first of honour, the next of interest. We, as a nation, are bound by treaty to maintain the independence of Belgium ; and Belgium has been suddenly and shamefully attacked by its mighty neighbour. The King of the Belgians has appealed to Great Britain to honour its treaty-obligations. It could not be possible that we should turn a deaf ear to that appeal. If any of us had had any doubt on the subject, that doubt must have vanished since the

Belgians have proved their patriotism by making a truly heroic defence against the overwhelming forces of Germany. So we are bound in honour to draw the sword, and that obligation comes home to every Englishman, rich and poor. We could never shake off the feeling of disgrace if we flinched from this stern Duty now.

3. Honour comes first with nations as with men, but in the widest sense it is the case that the Way of Honour generally is found to coincide with the Way not of the nearest advantage (which is all that mean-spirited men regard) but of the truest Interest. It is certainly the case here. For if Great Britain were to stand aside in cowardly inaction, leaving France to be crushed, and Belgium to be enslaved, is it not certain that the Victorious Power would not long respect the Liberty of England? Then we should have to fight at a great disadvantage, and if we failed, as not improbably we should, there would be nobody to regret our Fall, or relieve our Shame. All this is clear to the Government, and has been clearly set forward in Parliament by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary. I cannot doubt that Englishmen generally accept this view, and that all of you are quite clear in your minds as to the rightness of the War in which, as Soldiers of Britain,

you must take your part. You remember the lines of SHAKESPEARE, which contain the advice which a Father gave his Son :

Beware

Of entrance to a quarrel ; but being in,
Bear't, that the opposed may beware of thee.

That is good advice for soldiers who are also free citizens, and entering on a conflict the reasons of which they know, and approve. It is truly no small advantage that the rank and file of the British Forces will go into action with a good conscience. In all this there enters no feeling of hatred or bitterness against the German People, which does not possess the same fulness of information and freedom of opinion as we have in England. We desire nothing more than their friendship, and we hope to win it as one consequence of a conflict which shall make for ever impossible wars of ambition equally cynical and reckless.

4. I have dwelt so long on the causes of the War because I have felt it my duty as a Christian minister very anxiously to consider them, and to decide how far, consistently with my religious duty, I could encourage your patriotism, and pray for God's Blessing on your efforts. It does seem to me that, as Christians not less than as Englishmen, we are

required to resist to the utmost the brutal policy which tramples on small peoples, breaks treaties, and forces on its neighbours the fearful miseries of war. Our Religion is not merely a Religion of Peace and Gentleness, but also, and not less, a Religion of Justice and Sacrifice. It is best conceived of as the Religion of Duty, and Duty calls us to conflict and suffering, as well as to self-suppression and forgiveness. We are not fighting for any basely selfish object, but for those righteous Principles which are the necessary foundation of lasting Peace between Nations. The Conscience of the Civilized World approves our conflict. I am persuaded that, when the strife has reached its term, and men review with better knowledge, and with clearer vision, the course of events which have led up to this Tragedy, the German People itself will admit that it was misled and mishandled by its Rulers.

5. Now for my message to you. It is contained in some words of ST. PAUL, which can easily be carried in the memory : "SUFFER HARSHSHIP WITH ME, AS A GOOD SOLDIER OF JESUS CHRIST. NO SOLDIER ON SERVICE ENTANGLETH HIMSELF IN THE AFFAIRS OF THIS LIFE ; THAT HE MAY PLEASE HIM WHO ENROLLED HIM AS A SOLDIER." There are, perhaps, three kinds of Hardship which

the Soldier must be ready to bear—Discipline, Privation and Suffering, Exile from Home.

The Discipline is twofold : that which is enforced from without, and that which is enforced from within. I need say nothing about the first. You will try your utmost to become masters of the soldier's special work, helping your officers as much as you can by putting your mind into the tasks you have to perform. Of self-discipline I would say this, that its importance is very great, and its difficulty equal to its importance. The old phrase of the Catechism about "keeping the body in soberness, temperance, and chastity" ought to be always in the soldier's thought. Efficiency is very much a matter of habit and character: a temperate, clean-living man has his nerves steady and his wits about him. You must remember that you are trusted with the credit of your Country when you don the King's Uniform. The English Soldier has earned a high character for humaneness and honesty, see to it that you maintain and raise the standard.

Of Privation and Suffering I hardly like to speak, for these are the dark shadows of War, and we shrink from looking at them. Yet these also must be faced. We are reminded of them by the preparation of Hospitals which is being made throughout the

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Country. Before this War has run its course, the Chalice of Human Misery will be filled to overflowing, and who can say to whose lips the dread Cup will be offered? You may be called upon to witness scenes of sorrow and suffering, the mere thought of which saddens the mind; you may be yourself required to suffer or to die. You have looked this possibility in the face: it does not frighten you; you pray God that you may have grace to play the man when the hour of testing comes.

You have left your homes: you are prepared to go where you are sent. "THE HEART KNOWETH ITS OWN BITTERNESS." I will not lift the veil. But in this exile from those you love, there is hardship to be borne, none the less hard because it is shared by those whom you leave behind.

6. "SUFFER HARDSHIP WITH ME, AS A GOOD SOLDIER OF JESUS CHRIST," says ST. PAUL, and I make his words mine to-day, and address them to you. Remember that you are Soldiers of JESUS CHRIST. That is the reason why you have come to this great Church this morning. You have much before you to be faced, much that is difficult, dangerous, and doubtful. You want to play the man and do out the duty. Therefore you come to Him, Whose whole Life was dutiful, and Who did

His Duty to the bitter end. We will promise to pray for you, and support you in every way we can. You also must pray. No soldier ever fought so well as when he joined his fighting and his prayers. God has called you to a stern and anxious Duty: He will make you able to fulfil it. As soldiers you will be brought constantly into one another's company. I beg of you to help one another to keep a high standard of speech and conduct. Carry yourselves in camp, and street, and stricken field as "GOOD SOLDIERS OF JESUS CHRIST."

Remember the end is not yet. In the collisions of armies numerous as nations the separate human lives seem unimportant, and the careers cut short in battle seem nowise more significant than the blades of grass which grow over the fields of death; but the truth is far different. Life on earth, long or short, peaceful or filled with strife, means always something which earth can neither interpret nor fully contain. Beyond this life, with its crises and shadows, stretches an unending life, in which the spiritual worth of men is garnered and disclosed. Here and now God is putting us to the test, proving us to see, indeed, whether we be worthy of Himself. By Him "ACTIONS ARE WEIGHED," and He knows equally the unheeded efforts of the private soldier

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and the far-resounding achievements of the General. "THOU GOD SEEST ME" is a motto for the soldier, full of steadyng comfort and enduring hope. There is a Roll-call of Eternity when all "GOOD SOLDIERS OF JESUS CHRIST" shall stand before their CAPTAIN, and receive from Him the Word of Recognition and Recompense—"WELL DONE, GOOD AND FAITHFUL SERVANT: ENTER THOU INTO THE JOY OF THY LORD."

VI

SYMBOLS¹

AND JOSHUA WROTE THESE WORDS IN THE BOOK OF THE LAW OF GOD ; AND HE TOOK A GREAT STONE, AND SET IT UP THERE UNDER THE OAK THAT WAS BY THE SANCTUARY OF THE LORD. AND JOSHUA SAID UNTO ALL THE PEOPLE, BEHOLD, THIS STONE SHALL BE A WITNESS AGAINST US ; FOR IT HATH HEARD ALL THE WORDS OF THE LORD WHICH HE SPAKE UNTO US : IT SHALL BE THEREFORE A WITNESS AGAINST YOU, LEST YE DENY YOUR GOD.—*Joshua xxiv. 26, 27.*

1. THE impressive ceremony with which our service began reminds us that we are swayed and directed by other forces than those which the political or economic statistician cares to record. “ MAN DOTH NOT LIVE BY BREAD ALONE.” In our strangely mingled nature there are factors difficult to trace, impossible to measure, which no wise student of human affairs will suffer himself to forget. The imagination and the conscience play their part in the sum-total of historic forces, as well as the

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on Sunday, August 16, 1914, on the occasion of the Laying-up of the Colours of the Durham Local Militia and the Collection for the Prince of Wales’ National Relief Fund.

muscles and the intellect. Why should we regard with veneration, and preserve with care, those time-worn Colours which have been placed so reverently on the Altar of this Cathedral? Not for their intrinsic worth, assuredly; for that is not worth naming. No; but for their symbolic significance. They are to us silent yet persuasive witnesses of days long past, and they preach a duty realized then, which has again claimed us within these last stirring and anxious days. It is a just instinct which makes us value such memorials: we are right in thinking that it is no mean privilege to be born of an ancient and famous nation, and to be brought up under the near and constant influence of the Monuments of past Greatness.

2. If you inquire whence arises the strange authority of Symbols, you will find the answer in the fact that the human mind possesses the power of clothing material things with immaterial suggestions. We read ourselves into our physical surroundings, and write our personal histories on the scenes amid which we have lived. Thus we stock our lives with memorials, and weave over the fields of time the hopes and fears of eternity. This place was a silent witness of our treason; and there we wept alone in unavailing sorrow; and here there

reached us a thought from Above, which has been the Pilot star of all our succeeding years; and here we first knew what friendship could claim and do; and here we found the passion-mystery of Love. So it is with us that we traverse the ocean of life like a vessel which takes in various cargo at every port, and comes into harbour at last with a freight, precious and manifold.

3. Wise students of Mankind have ever taken this symbolizing tendency into account, and brought it into the service of virtue. So in the passage which I read as a text, we see JOSHUA, at the close of his life's work, striving to bind their duty upon his countrymen, by associating it in their minds with a very solemn occasion, and enshrining it in a visible symbol which should be ever before their eyes. The "GREAT STONE," set up so solemnly "UNDER THE OAK THAT WAS BY THE SANCTUARY OF THE LORD," would serve to keep the thought of Duty before the nation, even in days of moral declension, when more ordinary Preachers were silent, or misled by deluding casuistry. Every symbol, then, carries a memory and conveys a message. Let us consider what may be the memory, and what the message, of the Colours which I, as the official representative here of the National

Church, have formally received from the Lord-Lieutenant, as the Sovereign's principal Officer in this County.

4. You have heard from LORD DURHAM that these Colours were originally presented to the Local Militia raised more than a hundred years ago in order to preserve the country from a threatened invasion. Europe was then engaged in a protracted and desperate struggle to preserve national independence against the tyrannous ambition of NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. Only one country escaped the outrage of invasion, and that, our own, owed its immunity to the valour of its sons on sea and land. Great Britain might have stood out of the great conflict during the earlier and decisive phases, if it had taken a selfish advantage of its insular position, and refused to recognize the common cause of Liberty. Happily our Nation was led to take a nobler course, and braced itself to sustain the burdens of a long and desperate conflict. The Sonnets of WORDSWORTH disclose the spirit with which the crisis was met, and how it was interpreted. Englishmen realized that God had called them to be the champions of Liberty, and that only so could they prove themselves worthy of themselves. The twofold exaltation of a proud heritage

and a great mission burned in their minds, and inspired all classes of the people with an extraordinary courage and fortitude :

In our halls is hung
Armoury of the invincible Knights of old :
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That SHAKESPEARE spake ; the faith and morals hold
Which MILTON held.—In everything we are sprung
Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

Thoughtful observers of the nation during the last decades of the eighteenth century had feared that the lethargy and self-indulgence of the time had sunk too deeply into English minds to admit of any sustained or heroic action. The country was growing very wealthy, and with increasing wealth there had gone increase in luxury, and an ever lower standard of public life. When the great trial came, and Englishmen had to pull themselves together for the most terrible conflict of their history, the world discovered that the heart of the people was as sound as ever, and that the credit of England would not fail. In a tender sonnet WORDSWORTH confessed both his fears and his joyous reassurance :

When I have borne in memory what has tamed
Great Nations, how ennobling thoughts depart
When men change swords for ledgers, and desert

The student's bower for gold, *some fears unnamed*
I had, my Country!—am I to be blamed?
Now, when I think of thee, and what thou art,
Verily, in the bottom of my heart,
Of those unfilial fears I am ashamed.
For dearly must we prize thee ; *we who find*
In thee a bulwark for the cause of men.

It is the memory of that great time, when NELSON led the Fleet, and WORDSWORTH sung of Liberty, that these faded and dust-stained Colours recall to-day. And what is the message that they bear to us ?

5. I need not tell you, for you anticipate my words. These Colours symbolize Patriotism in Conflict, claiming from men the final sacrifice of their lives. Not without reason has the Christian Church ever loved to represent the LORD'S service under military figures of speech. JESUS is “THE CAPTAIN OF OUR SALVATION”; we are His soldiers, armed with His weapons of proof, sent to wage war against His foes. “OUR CITIZENSHIP IS IN HEAVEN.” Here on earth we are “SOLDIERS ON SERVICE” in a hostile country. All this, I say, is very natural, for the cardinal qualities of patriotic soldiership are pre-eminently Christian dispositions. The Cross, which is the Christian Symbol, stands always for Self-sacrifice carried to the supreme point.

"GREATER LOVE HATH NO MAN THAN THIS," said the LORD on the eve of His Crucifixion, " THAT A MAN LAY DOWN HIS LIFE FOR HIS FRIENDS."

6. Patriotism sees more in the citizen's task than a mere submission to authority: it realizes a debt and confesses a duty. In the hour of crisis these ultimate things rise on the patriot's thought, and drive from his mind the lesser things, which normally determine his conduct. He has his party-views like other men: he belongs to a set, a class, an interest, a church. All these advance claims over him, and alienate him in a hundred unsuspected ways from full communion with his fellow-citizens. But deep below them lies the debt he owes his country, and the obligation which is born thereof. So when the Country stands in need, he rises above all the detaining and narrowing influences of ordinary life, and sees clearly the way of his duty. He is neither frightened nor perplexed at a sudden demand, but rather

if he be called upon to face
Some awful moment to which Heaven has joined
Great issues, good or bad for humankind,
Is happy as a lover.

7. The obligation of personal service for the Country is inherent in citizenship itself, and

expresses itself literally under pressure of necessity. Ordinarily, the duty is fulfilled—so far as the majority of the citizens is concerned—by deputy. Military service has become so highly technical that efficiency can only be secured by a greater sacrifice of time and energy than the average citizen can make ; and therefore there has come into being in every modern community a military profession whose members have devoted themselves to the study and mastery of the difficult art of modern War. So, perhaps, the universal range of the patriotic obligation of personal service has rather faded from mind, and some of us have almost forgotten that we may ourselves rightly and lawfully be called upon, if the Country needs to be thus defended, to fight in the ranks. But this is a last, and let us hope an improbable contingency. What is certain is that, in a conflict so formidable as that in which we are now involved, the military forces of the Crown must be largely and quickly increased ; and that every young Englishman fit and able to enlist must brace himself to the personal obligation which bears upon him.

8. For the rest of us, incapacitated by age, health, or other valid cause from personal service in Army or Navy, there remains the very important work of

providing the resources of the conflict. We must all be ready to make sacrifices, and to bear with readiness the public burdens which the War will create. These will be heavy for many years to come.

9. "WITHOUT SHEDDING OF BLOOD IS NO REMISSION"—the sorrows and sacrifices of War are transfigured when they are consciously sustained by an Ideal of Justice and Love, which through them shall be brought nearer realization. On all sides it is observed that this War is being entered on with a significant absence of passion, and yet with an impressive determination. We are fighting, not because we hate anybody, nor yet because we covet anybody's land, but because we see that only through the bitter instrument of fighting can we break the Empire of Force, and establish in its place the Kingdom of Goodwill. We fight, as the Crusaders fought, for a spiritual Idea; and this fact gives moral dignity to the conflict. For the moment, consider how great the sorrows and sacrifices must be. All the dreaded shadows of common life, intermittent visitants to every human career, are here crowded upon one another until all is buried in Egyptian Night. Mutilation, Disease, Pressure of extreme Want, Sudden Death in a hundred Forms,—

these will be the familiar experiences of Europe for months to come. Necessarily, upon the Poor the accumulated wretchedness will fall first and last. None, indeed, will be exempt. There is at least that consolatory truth about such a war as this, that all classes of society from the highest to the lowest will be partners in the common suffering, and drawn together by the common sorrow. But, for obvious reasons, the Poorest lie always closest to the woes of the world: their resisting power is less; they must be struck in the tenderest point by the slaughter of their bread-winners; their distress must be largely dumb. Therefore we are more particularly bound to exert ourselves by every means in our power to mitigate the miseries of the Poor, and to make as sure as we can that no preventible suffering shall be added to their bitter lot.

VII

THE CIVIC IDEAL¹

HE LOOKED FOR THE CITY WHICH HATH THE FOUNDATIONS,
WHOSE BUILDER AND MAKER IS GOD.—*Hebrews xi. 10.*

1. THESE words are spoken of the Patriarch ABRAHAM, and give the key to his career. He is given a place of special honour in the Battle-roll of the Heroes of Faith, as being truly “THE FATHER OF THE FAITHFUL,” the Man who first uplifted for his nation the Torch of a distant Ideal, and made it the guiding light of his own life. I choose the words to-day for two reasons. On the one hand, they remind us that Ideals are indispensable for a right ordering of human effort; on the other hand, they state shortly but with arresting lucidity a particular Ideal, which is precisely that which may be fitly upheld before a body of men elected to

¹ Preached in the Parish Church of Sunderland to the Mayor and Corporation of that City, on the twenty-second Sunday after Trinity, November 13, 1914.

municipal office, and about to enter on the exercise of their functions. Apart from ideals, there is no escaping from the dull bondage of routine. We are imprisoned by use and wont ; spontaneity languishes ; enterprize fails ; progress is arrested. We sink under the empire of degrading contentment. But let our minds be visited by a worthy Ideal, and all is on the way to be changed for the better. We apply a new and higher standard to the custom of the world : we look at the established procedure from a new point of view, and perceive the actual performance of duty in larger perspectives. There is a connexion between what is and what might be. The Actual is seen to be on the line of progress towards the Ideal: we are at once disgusted and inspired—disgusted with the poor thing we are, inspired to strain after the nobler thing we see we might become.

It is related of the French sculptor RUBILLAC, who enjoyed a great reputation in this country during the eighteenth century, and whose skill may be studied in many of the monuments which fill Westminster Abbey, that when he visited Italy, and saw the immortal works of MICHAEL ANGELO, he expressed the utmost contempt for his own much-belauded performances. He had gained vision of

an Ideal which at once rebuked his inferiority and stimulated his effort.

In a higher sphere than that of Art we may recognize the humbling yet uplifting influence of an Ideal. When ST. PETER found himself in the Presence of our Divine SAVIOUR, and heard from His lips those words of wisdom and grace, the echoes of which have hallowed the world ever since, we are told that he was moved to a new sense of unworthiness: "DEPART FROM ME, FOR I AM A SINFUL MAN, O LORD"—such was his prayer; and the answer which it drew from the LORD was nothing less than a Commission of Apostleship: "FROM HENCEFORTH THOU SHALT CATCH MEN." The humble Fisherman had received a new conception of the greatness and infinite possibilities of life, a new vision of his own immense inferiority to the standard which CHRIST illustrated; and therewith a regenerating ambition to rise above himself was born in his heart, and a fresh direction given to his life.

The text reminds us of an earlier illustration of this truth. The Patriarch ABRAHAM, surrounded by the circumstances of tribal life and tribal religion, is moved to rise above both, and at great cost of personal effort and sacrifice to escape from

them, by the presence within his heart of an Ideal born from Above, which beckoned him to the larger life of civilization and the purer worship of JEHOVAH. "BY FAITH ABRAHAM, WHEN HE WAS CALLED, OBEYED TO GO OUT UNTO A PLACE WHICH HE WAS TO RECEIVE FOR AN INHERITANCE; AND HE WENT OUT, NOT KNOWING WHITHER HE WENT. BY FAITH HE BECAME A SOJOURNER IN THE LAND OF PROMISE, AS IN A LAND NOT HIS OWN, DWELLING IN TENTS, WITH ISAAC AND JACOB, THE HEIRS WITH HIM OF THE SAME PROMISE: FOR HE LOOKED FOR THE CITY WHICH HATH THE FOUNDATIONS, WHOSE BUILDER AND MAKER IS GOD."

2. No difference between the East and the West is so notable as that which turns on the fact of social progress. The East traverses the centuries without change in the deeper conditions of life: dynasties rise and fall; the land is swept by the hurricane of war; but the settled customs of the people persist, and society never seems to progress. The contact of West and East seems always to have the character of an irresistible onset leading on to a final failure. The passive resistance of oriental custom is too strong for the skill and vehemence of the aggressor:

The brooding East with awe beheld
Her impious younger world.
The Roman tempest swell'd and swell'd,
And on her head was hurl'd.

The East bowed low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain ;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again.

Within recent years there has seemed reason for thinking that the East is departing from its ancient tradition, and is really giving admission to Western conceptions of Progress. If this should be the case, the explanation will lie in the fact that Christianity, the Religion of Social Progress, has succeeded in gaining the acceptance of the Eastern Peoples. It is worth while to consider why the Religion of CHRIST should have merited the description which I have given it. Why is Christianity rightly called the Religion of Social Progress ?

3. Christianity is the Religion of a twofold Ideal — personal and social ; and wherever it is sincerely professed, men are fired by a passion for personal goodness and for social justice. The one leads on to the other. First, the Ideal of Personal Goodness was perceived, for that was embodied in the Person of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, and placed on record in the Gospel. Next, the Ideal of Social Justice

dawned on Christian Minds. The Gospel of the Kingdom is perceived to be involved in that discipleship of personal service to which every Christian is called. "ACCORDING TO HIS PROMISE," writes an Apostolic Author, "WE LOOK FOR NEW HEAVENS AND A NEW EARTH, WHEREIN DWELLETH RIGHTEOUSNESS." Christians are held always to the Ideal of a righteous Society by the Prayer, which they are commanded always to offer, "THY KINGDOM COME, THY WILL BE DONE ON EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN." Of every Christian man, as he lives among his neighbours in civic intercourse, it should be true that "HE LOOKS FOR THE CITY WHICH HATH THE FOUNDATIONS, WHOSE BUILDER AND MAKER IS GOD."

4. This Ideal of a Righteous Society had been inherited by Christians from their religious predecessors, the Jews. It is most nobly expressed by the Hebrew Prophets. The New Testament does but echo the language of the Old, which it cleanses of merely nationalist ambition, and charges with Catholic purpose. Read the great description of a regenerated society which ISAIAH has written. External security goes along with internal harmony, and the permanence of these happy conditions is found within the hearts of the people. "VIOLENCE

SHALL NO MORE BE HEARD IN THY LAND, DESOLATION NOR DESTRUCTION WITHIN THY BORDERS : BUT THOU SHALT CALL THY WALLS SALVATION, AND THY GATES PRAISE." So far the Prophet treads familiar ground ; he moves beyond it when he speaks of the citizens as themselves the pledges of civic justice : " THY PEOPLE ALSO SHALL BE ALL RIGHTEOUS." You may detect the echoes of ISAIAH'S words in that picture of " THE HOLY CITY JERUSALEM, COMING DOWN OUT OF HEAVEN FROM GOD, HAVING THE GLORY OF GOD," which glows on the pages of the Apocalyptic. There the factor of personal righteousness is solemnly emphasized, and the character of the Ideal Society is more clearly disclosed : " THERE SHALL IN NO WISE ENTER INTO IT ANYTHING UNCLEAN : OR HE THAT MAKETH AN ABOMINATION AND A LIE : BUT ONLY THEY WHICH ARE WRITTEN IN THE LAMB'S BOOK OF LIFE."

5. It is the case that Christian Morality has been gradually framed, so that there is no obvious consistency in the record of Christian civilization. Christians have allowed in one age what they have disallowed in another. Accordingly, there have not been wanting hostile critics who have taunted the Church with its acceptance of lower standards than

the civilized conscience now admits, and there are always some backward believers, who give plausibility to the implied accusation, by their tenacious hold on positions and points of view which have been outgrown by the general body of Christians. So it has been with the notion of Social Progress. At first, it was generally thought that Christianity had little concern with the problems of secular life. The World was doomed to an early perdition. Christians were called to "COME OUT OF" it, and to save their souls. That was a very natural position for believers to adopt when the powers of the World were violently opposed to Christianity, and when the whole customary process of social life was steeped in a very debased paganism. But Time corrected the error of the early believers. They learned that Christianity was destined to enter into the world's life and to work therein a blessed reformation, that the regenerating power of the Gospel was to be seen not only within the narrow sphere of individual character, but also in the large regions of social and political life. Thus slowly Christendom came into existence, a civilized order resting on the recognition of Christianity as Divinely true, and slowly bringing its laws and customs into harmony with the principles of CHRIST. The Roman

Empire, which had persecuted the Church, formally accepted Christianity. The Cross became the standard of the Roman Armies, and the whole machinery of government was made to proceed under Christian professions. So intimate was the union between the Empire and the Church that, when the Empire fell before the attacks of the Barbarians, there were many Christians who thought that Christianity had gone down before the Foe. ST. AUGUSTINE wrote his famous treatise, *On the City of God*, to reassure those Christians who were filled with dismay and despair at the Fall of Rome before the Army of ALARIC. Soon the Barbarians themselves became Christians, and with greater ardour than ever began to order the world on Christian lines. They were fearfully savage and ignorant, and the Christendom which they constructed reflected their faults; still it was in idea and tendency a Christendom, a civilized order built avowedly on Christian principles, and cherishing within itself the progressive impulse of the Christian Faith.

6. Throughout the whole mingled process of social development the Christian Ideal was powerful. Men in every rank of life felt that the actual state of things about them was unsatisfactory—a very

rough and inadequate version of a Society ordered after the Mind of CHRIST ; something therefore that they could not allow themselves wholly to acquiesce in, but were rather bound to change for the better. This holy discontent was most strongly felt by the best men. Sometimes they despaired of being able to improve the world, and grew fearful of their own security within the contagious influence of its corrupt and corrupting life. Then the mighty system of the Monasteries drew to itself much of the zeal and service which might have been better given to the general Cause. Sometimes good men sought to hasten the process of social salvation by using those secular weapons of bribery and coercion which can never really serve the good Cause. They fell into the temptation of "DOING EVIL THAT GOOD MIGHT COME," and had to learn, like SAVONAROLA at Florence and our own Puritans, that God's Kingdom may not be set up by SATAN'S instruments. Through error and fault, under clouds of scandal and in glorious episodes of victory, that Divine Kingdom was being gradually established, and the full meaning of CHRIST'S Gospel made known to Mankind.

7. This Christian Ideal is with us still ; and its faithful pursuit in the teeth of every difficulty is part

of our duty as Christian Men. I propose it to you to-day, when you come to the LORD's House in order to dedicate yourselves to His Service in the work of municipal government. You must keep that Ideal in mind in this city, and carry out your public functions as citizens of that unseen city, of which the best-governed earthly community is but a faint and partial adumbration—"THE CITY WHICH HATH THE FOUNDATIONS, WHOSE BUILDER AND MAKER IS GOD."

8. The quality of your performance of municipal duty will finally be determined by the fidelity with which through it all you have been pursuing that ideal. It is pleasant to be popular with neighbours : to hear from them the language of compliment ; to escape from the fret and friction of local conflict. But such popularity is not in itself a trustworthy indication of merit. "WOE UNTO YOU WHEN ALL MEN SPEAK WELL OF YOU," said our MASTER ; and though we may fairly think that His words had a primary reference to the difficult circumstances in which the first disciples were placed, yet we may not doubt that they enshrine a warning which has perpetual relevance to the Christian's situation in a world which still in great part lies outside His gracious dominion. We know how powerful are

those "vested interests" which obstruct the carrying out of necessary reforms; we know how seducing is that natural indolence which predisposes us to leave irksome tasks undone; we know that there are a hundred fears and hopes which thrust themselves in the way of duty. Popularity may, or may not, come to the honest Magistrate, who deals equal justice to rich and poor, but it matters little so long as he has the assurance within himself that he has kept a straight course. "TO HIS OWN MASTER HE STANDETH OR FALLETH." Perhaps there is little danger of men's failing in their formal duties, for public opinion is vigilant, and the tradition of office is generally high; but there is very real danger of the indirect obligation of public office being let slip from the mind. "TO WHOM MUCH IS GIVEN, FROM HIM SHALL MUCH BE REQUIRED," said the JUDGE of men; and you will allow me to propose His Words to you as very clearly relevant to your situation to-day, when you are making a public entrance on your Office.

9. Municipal life is necessarily limited to a relatively small district. SUNDERLAND is a large and prosperous town, destined to all appearance to become one of the greater cities of the country, yet it is small enough to give grave

importance to individual example. The ill-example of men in office carries far, and weakens virtue throughout the whole community ; their good example is not less potent in the opposite direction. We speak too easily of life as being "private," but in truth where human character is concerned there is no privacy possible. What a Man is in himself, and in his domestic sphere, tells for good or evil on the society of which he forms a part. It is a great calamity when the official representatives of the people do not command their respect, and the Laws are dishonoured in the persons of those who administer them. If, indeed, you cherish the Ideal for Sunderland of "THE CITY WHICH HATH THE FOUNDATIONS, WHOSE BUILDER AND MAKER IS GOD," then you will look well to your own steps, and make sure that your own life is sound.

10. You are entering on your public duties at a critical time. The immense conflict which is now desolating Europe is straining the political and social fabric dangerously at every point. New and difficult duties are being suddenly thrust upon the local authorities, and they are required to prove their patriotism by large personal sacrifices. A dark and difficult period of effort and reconstruction lies in front of us, and we shall all need the helping

grace of God if we are not to fail in our duty. Your presence here, according to the time-honoured Christian custom, is full of good omen. The custom is time-honoured ; but time-honoured customs are apt to grow empty of meaning, and to live on without any genuine hold on conscience and reason. To-day the old custom will take for you a fresh significance. In face of the anxieties of this dreadful time, where should we betake ourselves but to Him Who is the Source of all wisdom and the God of all comfort ? Let your prayer to-day be the prayer of the Psalmist, " SHOW THOU ME THE WAY THAT I SHOULD WALK IN, FOR I LIFT UP MY SOUL UNTO THEE." Be sure that such a prayer sincerely offered will not be unanswered. " AS YOUR NEED, SO SHALL YOUR STRENGTH BE."

VIII

LIBERTY AND LAW¹

SO SPEAK YE, AND SO DO, AS MEN THAT ARE TO BE JUDGED BY A LAW OF LIBERTY.—*St. James ii. 12.*

I. IT is with very special satisfaction that I welcome to the Cathedral to-day the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Durham, and I hold it a happy circumstance that they should be accompanied by a contingent of His Majesty's Forces. The union of the Civil and the Military Factors of the National Life is best realized in the Worship of Him Whose severe and righteous Law it is the solemn task of all Powers of Government to express in human affairs, and Who alone can make sinful and ignorant men able to fulfil so sublime a function. In the difficult and dangerous circumstances of the Nation, much turns on the frank co-operation of the two

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, November 15, 1914, before the Mayor and Corporation, and a considerable body of Troops.

Authorities, and on their resolute loyalty to those great principles of Truth, Purity, and Self-sacrifice, which are as the rock-foundations on which the Temple of healthy public Life must rest. It is but little more than three months since the War broke out, and we are hardly yet able to grasp the new responsibilities which it has brought to us. In the first place, naturally, there stood the new obligation of military service, which came with the shock of surprise to large multitudes of young men. We know that many of them from this City and County responded to the Call of the Country with an ardour of patriotism which filled us with honourable pride. I congratulate them from my heart on having taken a course which they will always remember with pleasure, and which England will never forget. I feel confident that there are many more who, when they realize the urgency of the Country's need, will follow the example so worthily set, and insist on taking a personal share in the sacred Task of defending their native Land, and with it those everlasting principles of Justice and Liberty, of which Great Britain has been among the nations as the ordained Apostle and historic Exponent. It is not, however, of that primary obligation that I propose to speak this afternoon, but rather of some other

obligations which it has drawn in its train. For these bear directly on the duties of the Municipal Authorities and the conduct of ordinary Citizens.

2. Durham through the coming winter will present an unwonted appearance. Our narrow and winding streets will be crowded by the Recruits billeted here in order to train for the grim contingencies of Warfare. These hundreds of young men create inevitably a situation of some gravity. How will the City affect them? Will they find in Durham influences which strengthen character and stimulate the sense of duty? or will they rather find themselves in their leisure hours, spent necessarily in our streets, weakened in body and spirit by what they see and do? Let me observe that we ought to recognize that the conditions of our civic life will become highly artificial, and be prepared to accept the necessity of abnormal arrangements in order to save the civic life from grave derangement. We all know that wherever large bodies of men are brought together, there are two dangers which must be reckoned with —the danger of intemperance and the danger of loose behaviour. To say this is not to make any suggestion of exceptional badness against anybody; but simply to face the necessary consequence of

artificial conditions. Numbers and excitement are the two new factors, and they are very serious factors. The great soldiers, who are organizing and leading the British Armies at this juncture, have spoken with no uncertain voice on the subject of what is known as "treating"; and they have appealed with all possible earnestness to the British People to avoid a practice which, although prompted by kindness of heart, is most harmful to the health and discipline of the troops. The Civic Authorities in most places have taken special measures to reduce the risks of intemperance. It is far from my mind to offer an opinion on matters which lie outside my proper concern, and I must ever dissociate myself from any general attack on those who are carrying on a necessary and very difficult trade, and for the most part carrying it on very creditably. Nevertheless, extraordinary situations must be met by extraordinary arrangements. The establishment among us of large bodies of young men, who are preparing for military service in a crisis of national danger, does create an extraordinary situation, which we may fairly ask all citizens, whatever their occupation may be, to consider; and I must take leave to say plainly that, in view of what Lord Kitchener, Lord Roberts, and other eminent soldiers

have said on the subject, in view also of the action which has been taken in most other military centres, it does seem to me that our own Local Authorities will be accepting a very heavy responsibility if they take no steps to secure an earlier closing of public-houses during this winter. It is sometimes argued that there is little use in closing the public-houses so long as the clubs remain open; and it must be allowed that the argument has force enough to suggest to the Committees and Members of all Clubs, in which drink is sold, a very earnest appeal for their frank co-operation with the Municipal Authorities in doing what can be done to remove temptation and reduce intemperance.

3. I pass to a far more difficult and delicate subject, a subject, indeed, so difficult and so delicate that only a coercive sense of duty could justify me in referring to it on such an occasion as this. Every accumulation of young men must necessarily raise the question of their relations with the other Sex. Here, again, the situation is highly artificial, and its peculiar danger lies in that circumstance. What can we do to save the soldier's leisure from becoming a snare to him? What can we do to put a shield over the self-respect of our girls? In times of patriotic excitement such as the present, many

of the wholesome conventions which guard the intercourse of the sexes in society are relaxed, and a door is opened to much that is perilous, and which may lead, nay which in some cases must lead, to lamentable consequences. I do but allude to facts which will be in the mind of all reflective men and women, and in view of them I repeat my question, What can be done here in Durham to save the soldiers from the snares of leisure? The Municipal Authorities may fairly look to the citizens to exert themselves to provide the means of reasonable recreation, and must perforce limit their own action to that of assisting such private effort. Speaking as the Head of this Cathedral Foundation, and expressing (as I am well assured) the mind of all my Colleagues, I say that we shall be more than willing to co-operate in every possible way with any organized efforts, approved by the military and municipal authorities, to provide recreation for the troops.

Let me not leave this subject without making a very earnest appeal to the Parents of young Girls. They cannot divest themselves of a very solemn responsibility for their children. The decay of domestic authority has gone far among our people, and, perhaps, we never realize the miserable mean-

ing of the fact until we are brought to a difficult crisis when sacred interests demand urgently the exercise of domestic authority. Your age and experience ought to protect them from the risks to which their youth and ignorance may too easily expose them.

4. Liberty has found its earliest home in Cities; for the freedom of uncivilized men, wandering at will over vast territories, does not really deserve the name. In the City the higher life of civilization was possible, and hence the greatest of Greek thinkers, ARISTOTLE, could regard the City-State as providing the indispensable framework of civilized human living. The freedom of the City went with large surrenders of individual comfort and desire. "In great Greek days citizens put more on themselves than any tyrant ever imposed on subjects," observes an American writer, and he points a moral which history is continually affirming. There is an elastic vigour about freedom which makes it easy for free men to carry the burdens which they lay on themselves. "Social freedom," it has been well said, is "self-assertion self-restrained." The secret of success lies in the combination of the two. Let self-assertion be unchecked, and manhood wastes itself in a squalid

individualism, while society sinks into a barren anarchy ; let self-restraint be absolute, and the fair potencies of personality are lost under an unlifiting weight of unnatural pressure. But let the two be combined : a free utterance of the Self always self-limited by Law, and the full content of our wondrous humanity can be disclosed. This is surely the meaning of that remarkable expression of the text—*A LAW OF LIBERTY*. The Apostle knows that Liberty without Law must rapidly sink into licence ; that Law without Liberty must needs shrivel into despotism. But Liberty which accepts Law, and approves it, has the strength of Law added to its own. “*SO SPEAK YE, AND SO DO, AS MEN THAT ARE TO BE JUDGED BY A LAW OF LIBERTY.*”

5. Social and political liberty are in the long run conditioned by moral liberty, for the man who is a slave to vice cannot long retain freedom in any sphere. The Stoics had grasped this truth when they coined their familiar saying : “Only the wise man is free ; every fool is a slave.”

A few years ago I stood for the first time beside the famous Falls of Niagara ; it was my last day in the United States, and I desired to invest it with majestic associations. As I gazed on that

immense cataract, where a vast river contracts suddenly, and hurls a mighty volume of water into a chasm nearly two hundred feet below, I shivered at the irresistible power of inanimate nature. Then as my eye rested on the electric-power houses on either bank, I reflected on the strange paradox which had enabled men to bind to their service these forces of nature, before which they seemed so feeble. The words of the Psalmist recurred to my mind, "WHAT IS MAN, THAT THOU ART MINDFUL OF HIM? AND THE SON OF MAN, THAT THOU VISITEST HIM? THOU HAST MADE HIM BUT LITTLE LOWER THAN GOD: THOU CROWNEST HIM WITH GLORY AND HONOUR." I turned to climb again the bank from Goat Island, and there before me, stumbling with uncertain steps, and scarcely held from falling by a humiliated woman, was a drunken man. The physical force of nature and the moral weakness of man united in a single picture formed a contrast enigmatic and afflicting. "SO SPEAK YE, AND SO DO, AS MEN THAT ARE TO BE JUDGED BY A LAW OF LIBERTY."

6. Young men, you, as all who before you have run the race of life, must make your choice between the false liberty which refuses restraint, and the true liberty which accepts law; between the franchise

of self-indulgence and the franchise of self-mastery. The world in which your election must be made will not help you; its siren voices will reach you at every turn, and you will have within yourself answering voices of desire, protesting, demanding, your self-surrender to sin. But if you will listen, ever with the siren voices comes to you another voice, speaking through your own conscience, austere yet tender, as of One Who speaks with authority and speaks with love; and the burden of that Diviner Song is an appeal which wakes every element of manliness and aspiration within you, for it calls to service and to self-respect. Listen to that song of the Christian ORPHEUS, JESUS CHRIST, and you will have no ears for any other:

The feeble echoes of that other lay,
Which held awhile their senses thralled and dumb,
Were in the distance fading quite away,
A dull unheeded sound.

“SO SPEAK YE, AND SO DO, AS MEN THAT ARE TO BE JUDGED BY A LAW OF LIBERTY.”

IX

LESSONS OF THE GREAT WAR¹

LOOK THEREFORE CAREFULLY HOW YE WALK, NOT AS UNWISE, BUT AS WISE ; REDEEMING THE TIME, BECAUSE THE DAYS ARE EVIL. WHEREFORE BE YE NOT FOOLISH, BUT UNDERSTAND WHAT THE WILL OF THE LORD IS.—*Ephesians v. 15-17.*

1. LIFE is not of uniform value and importance. As in the history of nations, so in the course of individual life there are times of critical moment, and quieter times when the years pass on without any apparent change, and society seems to stand still. Physiologically, we know, there are critical periods, and long spaces of time during which the body seems to change little. We have a common expression which from another point of view indicates the same truth. We speak of “the battle of life,” and by so doing we remind ourselves that in life, as in a battle, there are desperate turns when the whole fortunes of the day are in

¹ Preached in Bristol Cathedral on May 9, 1915.

the balance. In the text, ST. PAUL uses a metaphor drawn from the world of business, when he bids the Ephesians "REDEEM THE TIME," or, as perhaps we may better render the Greek, "SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY." He pictures a merchant on the look-out for the changes of the market. When the chance of selling his goods to advantage comes he must be quick to make use of it. Life is filled with opportunities. Christians ought to be like intelligent traders who watch the markets, in order that they may be able to make the most profit by the sale of their wares. Most especially is such keen vigilance needed when, to use the common phrase, "times are bad," and the ordinary conditions of trade have been disturbed. Then only the bold and resourceful merchant will be likely to escape bankruptcy.

2. I have chosen ST. PAUL'S words for the text of my sermon because I wish to speak to you about the effect which the great War ought to have upon our personal lives. None will be disposed to question that we are living in one of the critically important times of human history. Thoughtful men generally, not only among ourselves but also in other countries, are agreed in thinking that the civilized world has been suddenly confronted by

the necessity of deciding on what principles it will order itself. We have been accustomed to speak of the civilized world as forming a Christendom, and we have not done so without reason ; for the salient features of the civilized world as we have known it —those features which make it different from other forms of civilized order—are quite evidently connected with the fact that the Christian Religion has coloured the process of social life, and stamped a distinctive character on human conceptions of social progress. It is no doubt true that there is much that is flagrantly opposed to the teachings of CHRIST in modern Europe and America—vice, cruelty, oppression, materialism of the coarsest kind. But these are common to all forms of human society, and therefore cannot be held to be distinctive of any. Along with these dark features, there are in Christendom other traits which are not at all, or are not in any similar degree, found in any non-Christian civilization. Respect for human life, care for children and women, a relatively high standard of marriage, a steadily growing resistance to economic hardships, political equality, responsibility of rulers to the people, humaneness in penalties, liberty of conscience, the faith in social progress,—these are marks of the civilized world as it exists

to-day, and they are all demonstrably connected with the ideas of the Gospel, and the Example of JESUS CHRIST. The War has suddenly disclosed to us a rival set of principles, avowedly anti-Christian, on which a quite different kind of society may be built. Human life is to be treated as of slight value, all doctrines which inculcate chivalrous regard for the weak are to be set aside as unworthy of strong men, the measure of right is to be might, and the reign of Law is to be superseded by the Power of the Mailed Fist; Peace is to be only valued as the means to War, and Mankind is to find in War its loftiest inspirations and the instrument of its true progress. This Religion of Hatred and Violence has been shown in action on the soil of Belgium, France, and Poland. It has poisoned the mind of the German People, and inspired them to a vehement attack on the civilized World. This aspect of the War as really a conflict of Principles, by the issue of which the whole character of human civilization must be determined, is now very generally perceived. The first effect of the War, then, has been to direct our thoughts to the foundations of the social order, and to make us realize the priceless value of the Christian Religion as providing the true principles of human progress.

3. We have discovered with a start of unwelcome surprise that those principles can be lost by a modern nation more easily and more quickly than we had thought possible. A generation ago Germany waged war with conspicuous humaneness, and (though it is the case that Prussian policy was even then marked by a cynicism and lack of good faith which augured ill for the future) German public opinion was not out of harmony with the general sentiment of Europe. "The conduct of the German troops in the war of 1870 was in the main good," observes SIR HARRY REICHEL, and he adds that "in particular it was comparatively free from the most odious form of military outrage, viz. crimes of violence against women." How different must be the verdict of History on the present War! "Had anybody told me," he continues, that the sons and grandsons of the German soldiers of 1870 "would have signalized their march through Belgium by ruthless barbarities for the like of which one must go back to the Thirty Years' War, I should have said it was a foul calumny." Yet nothing less must be said, and with this addition, that not only are the destructive weapons of the twentieth century vastly more powerful and horrifying than any of which the seventeenth century had knowledge, but the soldiers

of WALLENSTEIN and GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS could plead all the excuse which genuine, though fanatically perverse, religious conviction can bring to human cruelty. To-day there is a new spirit in the German People. The lower standards of semi-heathen Prussia have been accepted by Germany as a whole. Religion seems to have shrivelled into an official worship, reaching no higher than the national policy, and seeking no Diviner sanctions than the national will. Morality, public and personal, has declined as the nation has grown in power and wealth, until the most shocking violations of justice and humanity are condoned by public opinion, and even championed by statesmen, preachers, and scholars on the "tyrant's plea" of Necessity. We ask anxiously how it is that this change for the worse can have been brought about in so brief a time.

We are told that the mighty machine of German Government has been directed to the fashioning of the German Mind ; that the very sources of knowledge have been manipulated in this interest ; that the ideal of universal empire has been set before children in the State schools, youths in the State universities, conscripts in the barracks and drill-grounds, ordinary citizens in the State-controlled newspapers, and from the State-inspired pulpits ;

that a philosophy of Force has corrupted the intelligence of many; that a sudden prosperity has dulled the conscience of most; that religious observance has fallen into general neglect among the leaders of society; and that personal morals have become exceedingly corrupt. In a word, we are bidden to see in the perfidy of the German Government and the brutality of the German troops, the evil consequences of a many-sided process of national apostasy. Non-Christian civilization is marked by grave defects, but there is always the chance that, when it changes its principles, it will do so for the better. When a Christian civilization goes back on its governing beliefs, there are none better which it can adopt. It can only change for the worse. "IF THE SALT HAVE LOST ITS SAVOUR, WHEREWITH SHALL IT BE SALTED? IT IS THENCEFORTH GOOD FOR NOTHING." That is the picture which is presenting itself in modern Germany—a Christianly civilized nation going away from its principles, and perforce falling below itself.

4. But, as we consider the case of Germany, we perceive with alarm that many of the signs of its apostasy are present among ourselves. We cannot draw out in detail the indictment against the German people, without including much that finds

a place within our own nation. Happily the evil process has not advanced so far with us. The heart of our people is still sound, and its conscience is not yet corrupted. After all, it is not so easy to dethrone CHRIST in a free democracy as it is in a military despotism. Yet it were the merest self-delusion to deny that anti-Christian tendencies are present among us, and that they have gone far in certain directions. Materialism, the reigning temper of modern Germany, is certainly distributed widely in modern Britain ; and the selfish imperialism which shocks us in Berlin is not wholly unknown in London. I suggest, therefore, that the next effect of the War is to move us to a severe self-criticism. We are led to look more closely than heretofore at many theories and projects which are being advocated amongst us, and to pitch our patriotism on a somewhat humbler note. We recall the stern question which ST. PAUL addressed to the self-righteous Jew, and we wonder whether he would address the censorious Briton in similar terms : "RECKONIST THOU THIS, O MAN, WHO JUDGEST THEM THAT PRACTISE SUCH THINGS, AND DOEST THE SAME, THAT THOU SHALT ESCAPE THE JUDGMENT OF GOD ? "

5. From these large considerations we must

needs pass quickly to more particular questions. The War forces on every one of us the thought of personal service due to the Country. It brings to us a separate and solemn claim. What share of the common burden are we ourselves prepared to sustain? To some extent, of course, we have no choice in the matter. We cannot stand outside the fortunes of a conflict in which the liberties of our native land are at stake. We cannot escape the consequences of so great a struggle. For many years to come the burden of taxation caused by the War will weigh heavily on English society; and in some way, direct or indirect, every citizen will have to contribute to the vast weight of new debt. But there is more than that in the claim which the Country is now making on us all. The walls are everywhere placarded with posters calling on all men of suitable age to enlist in some branch of HIS MAJESTY'S Forces. No man of the right age can avoid the question, What answer shall I make to this appeal of my King and my Country? There is at least no perplexity as to the precise meaning of duty in that case. In the absence of any adequate reason to the contrary, every man between the ages of 19 and 40 ought to offer himself for active service. For others the way of

their duty is not so evident. None of us can stand aloof when the Country is fighting for its life, but we must find out for ourselves how best we can render service. The whole fabric of society is strained and disordered by so immense a conflict, and there is need of the efforts of every loyal man and woman to prevent mischief of one sort or another breaking out. There is plenty to do, if there be the mind to do it. The one clear thing is that none of us, on the peril of losing our self-respect, can refuse to take a hand in this great work of national service. One effect, a most wholesome effect, of this War will be the bringing home to our minds the obligation of service—the fact, so easily forgotten in quiet times, when money-making and amusement seem to form the entire concern of so many English folks, that we owe a duty to our country, and that in the hour of crisis our country will claim it of us. The War has given us a new point of view, and helped us to see things in their right perspective. All the petty quarrels which divided the people—disputes about wages, and local politics, and sectarian differences—before the War, have for *most* of us—I wish I could say for *all*—suddenly lost their interest and importance. We have no mind to quarrel about such trifles when

this supreme business of the Country's peril is requiring all our thought. The War is helping us to escape from the prejudices which hamper us, and to look beyond the narrow interests which have ensnared us. We know now, as we never knew before, what Patriotism means. We can understand why men are willing to die rather than suffer their native country to be enslaved or humiliated.

6. We are learning the meaning of War, its terrible cruelty, its frightful wastefulness, its almost inconceivable horror. Civilized Mankind will never forget the lesson of those ruined cities in Belgium : that prosperous country within a few weeks transformed into a smouldering cinder-heap ; those multitudes of exiles, heart-broken, distracted, stripped of everything but life, stricken with every sorrow, undone. Nevermore shall we be cheated by the pageantry and purple rhetoric of War. Henceforth we shall see it in the light of this monstrous conflict, and know it for what it is—the masterpiece of Satan. It is no mere platform orator's point to say that we are waging war against war ; for we are fighting against the principles which prompt and justify such infamies as the sinking of the *Lusitania*, in the name and power of the principles which root international relations in righteousness. We fight

for a juster Europe, a more reasonably ordered world, a civilization which shall turn with loathing from the suicidal barbarity of international violence. It is important that we should fix this firmly in our minds now, for there will be no slight danger of our forgetting it presently, when the sinister passions generated by the struggle shall have had their natural influence on our minds. We did not go into this War in order that we might ourselves be dragged down to the debasement which is marking the conduct of German diplomacy and German warfare. By God's grace we will not suffer ourselves to be carried on the wave of our righteous indignation into an acceptance of those cruel and degrading procedures which will give an infamous prominence to the German campaigns in East and West. No: we went into this War with far other designs, for far different ends. Not merely as patriotic Englishmen obeying the call, sudden, imperious, desperately urgent, of our King and Country; but also as loyal servants of JESUS CHRIST, pledged before all else to obey His commandments, and to advance among men His Kingdom of Justice, Purity, and Peace. We have to bring our civic behaviour into conformity with the Law of His Example. That Law calls us to self-sacrifice, frank, willing,

unlimited, in the interest of Duty. That is the very core of discipleship: it is the "MARK OF JESUS" on the Christian's Life. When, therefore, our country calls upon us to make sacrifices even unto the surrender of life, we can find in our religion nothing but sanction and inspiration. But the Law of CHRIST'S Example lays its veto on every form of selfish ambition, and cannot tolerate anything that does not make for righteousness. Therefore, the Christian Soldier makes a conscience of his fighting, and will not serve any and every cause. This War, which has sent so many Englishmen to battle, and committed us all to the gravest contest of history, has turned our thoughts to the whole subject of War as it concerns the disciple of CHRIST, and brought our consciences to bear on our citizenship. ST. PAUL'S words have a special relevancy to our case in this dangerous time of patriotic excitement: "LOOK THEREFORE CAREFULLY HOW YE WALK, NOT AS UNWISE, BUT AS WISE; REDEEMING THE TIME, BECAUSE THE DAYS ARE EVIL. WHEREFORE BE YE NOT FOOLISH, BUT UNDERSTAND WHAT THE WILL OF THE LORD IS."

7. Finally, I think this War has set us all, even the most light-hearted and frivolous, thinking about Death, and the strange suddenness of its coming,

and the dread circumstances of its advent. As we read in newspapers the casualty lists, or look at the pages of photographs of frank young faces which have passed from sight for ever on the stricken fields of France and Flanders, we must needs feel the pathos of our human lot, and the nearness of the Grey Shadow to all scenes of life. In ordinary times the presence of Death escapes us. So perfect is the organization of our cities, that we hardly observe the constant process of burial which silently fills our cemeteries. But now, when daily the young are being cut off, as it were before our eyes, we cannot shut out the unwelcome Fact, that "IN THE MIDST OF LIFE WE ARE IN DEATH." In a famous phrase, RICHARD BAXTER spoke of himself as "A DYING MAN PREACHING TO DYING MEN"; and beyond question the great Puritan's appeals took from that thought a character of special solemnity and urgency. I do not think our lives would be less happy if we thought more of death, but I am sure they would be more responsible. For we perceive the menacing truth of the LORD'S word to the disciples: "WE MUST WORK THE WORKS OF HIM THAT SENT ME, WHILE IT IS DAY: THE NIGHT COMETH, WHEN NO MAN CAN WORK."

How suddenly that Night of Death has fallen

on our Brothers, who lie in crowded graves on the blood-soaked fields of France and Belgium, or deep beneath the ocean's sullen waves! They were with us yesterday in the glory of their young manhood; they went from us with the light of hope in their eyes, and the mounting courage of patriotism aflame in their hearts; and now they are not, and the places where they passed in their joy and strength shall know them no more. In their case the tragedy merges in triumph. The night fell on fields from which Life's true harvest had been reaped. Few or many may the years be: they are enough if but they bring men to such self-surrender in service. Life, we see, is measured not by years but by its power to fashion men for Duty; and by thus fashioning them to make them fit to die. Would you prepare for Death? There is but one only method, and that was stated by the Psalmist long ages past: "KEEP INNOCENCY, AND TAKE HEED UNTO THE THING THAT IS RIGHT: FOR THAT SHALL BRING A MAN PEACE AT THE LAST."

"LOOK THEREFORE CAREFULLY HOW YE WALK, NOT AS UNWISE, BUT AS WISE; REDEEMING THE TIME, BECAUSE THE DAYS ARE EVIL. WHEREFORE BE YE NOT FOOLISH, BUT UNDERSTAND WHAT THE WILL OF THE LORD IS."

X

SOWING AND HARVEST.¹

BE NOT DECEIVED; GOD IS NOT MOCKED: FOR WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH, THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP.—*Galatians vi. 7.*

I. A PLATITUDE introduced by a solemn warning against its neglect—that is the first aspect of ST. PAUL'S words. That the Harvest is determined by the Sowing, absolutely so far as its nature is concerned, largely so far as its amount, is indeed a proposition which no sane man would dream of disputing. “DO MEN GATHER GRAPES OF THORNS, OR FIGS OF THISTLES?” So far as we deal with the Harvests of the Fields and the Orchards, there is perhaps little if any danger of this obvious truth being forgotten. Like begets like: if you want wheat you must plant wheat, if you plant oats you do not reap barley. That is the working rule of every farmer throughout the world. But ST. PAUL

¹ Preached in Manchester Cathedral on the eighteenth Sunday after Trinity, October 11, 1914.

had another kind of Harvest in his mind when he wrote the text. He pictured to himself men's actions as seeds cast into the soil, bound by the same law which holds Harvest and Sowing together in our fields. "HE THAT SOWETH UNTO HIS OWN FLESH SHALL OF THE FLESH REAP CORRUPTION ; BUT HE THAT SOWETH UNTO THE SPIRIT SHALL OF THE SPIRIT REAP ETERNAL LIFE." ^{For} ~~For~~ In the sphere of morals we are not so ready to remember that "like begets like"; that a man's character is really the Harvest of his habits; that his final destinies are really the Harvest of his earthly life.

2. The Apostle suggests that such forgetfulness is not difficult. "BE NOT DECEIVED," he says, as if we were faced by a real danger that we should be deceived by a plausible denial of the truth. And indeed the danger of such deception is real and near. For moral issues are scarcely ever presented to us sharply and clearly. The Harvest of Character is slow in ripening and hidden in growth. Good and Bad are strangely mingled. It is hard to say of any man that he is completely or decisively one or the other. Circumstances obscure issues: the plausible casuistry of the passions blinds men where they themselves are concerned. None of us can be trusted to sit in judgment on ourselves. Every

experience leaves its impress on the Self, but it is as difficult to realize the fact as it is to believe that every rain-drop tells on the hard surface of the granite boulder. In long reaches of time we can see plainly the effect of conduct on character, but from one day to another nothing seems to be affected, and we easily cheat ourselves into believing that nothing has happened. The charming petted child, indulged foolishly by its fond parents, and encouraged to think only of its own whims and wishes, seems just as charming on the morrow of its selfish excesses; but let the register of moral growth be taken over a longer period, and the true course of its advance will be apparent to the dullest. A wayward, sullen boy, and an obstinate, self-indulged youth, and a repulsively self-absorbed, self-seeking man, are not to be mistaken; and these all stand in true filial succession from the unheeded selfishness of childhood. “BE NOT DECEIVED; GOD IS NOT MOCKED: FOR WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH, THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP.”

3. “GOD IS NOT MOCKED”—by this startling exclamation ST. PAUL reminds us that the stern truth upon which he is insisting connects itself with the very character of the ALMIGHTY. The Universe, we have learned from the Men of Science, is everywhere subject to the “Reign of Law.” Religious

thinkers insist that this law-governed Universe reflects as in a mirror the Mind of its CREATOR. What we call "the Law of Nature" is, from the religious point of view, the Will of God. Caprice and instability are the marks of finite and fallen creatures; we may not dare to suppose that these traits can mark the procedure of the Infinite and All-Holy CREATOR. In our blind conceit we may suppose that there is a way of escape for us from the stern regularity of His moral government, that we may sin and not be punished, that we may violate moral laws and escape moral deterioration, but herein we deceive ourselves. "THE LORD IS NOT SLACK CONCERNING HIS PROMISE, AS SOME COUNT SLACKNESS; BUT IS LONG-SUFFERING TO YOUWARD, NOT WISHING THAT ANY SHOULD PERISH, BUT THAT ALL SHOULD COME TO REPENTANCE." In the long run the Law of God must be vindicated. However slow the process of growth may be, the Harvest must arrive in due course, and it must disclose the nature of the Sowing. "BE NOT DECEIVED; GOD IS NOT MOCKED: FOR WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH, THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP."

4. That like begets like is the very principle of sound education. The first question which the

organizer of a school must ask himself is this, What is the object which I shall pursue? What is the result for which I shall labour? What kind of harvest shall I seek in my intellectual sowing? There are, we know, two types of education largely accepted by civilized Europeans. They run into one another at a good many points, and are not necessarily opposed, but they may be sharply marked off from one another, and even brought into avowed antagonism. We are accustomed in this country to style them respectively, religious and secular. We might indicate more justly their salient characteristics by calling the one a training for work, and the other a training for life. Now work is an important part of life, and no education can rightly leave it out of count; but life is more than work, and any education which confines itself to work will be gravely defective. Technical schools are valuable and necessary things, but they cannot satisfy the requirements of education. "THE LIFE IS MORE THAN THE FOOD, AND THE BODY THAN THE RAIMENT." Skill is highly important, but if it be separated from sound principles it cannot suffice. The School must lay the foundations of good character as well as provide the knowledge of working life. Some people profess to believe that it is possible,

and even advantageous, to limit the functions of the School to instruction, relegating the discipline of character to the Home and the Church; but there is a fallacy in this suggestion. It assumes that human nature will admit of such an allocation of educational parts. That the School can be stripped of religious influences, and the teachers restricted to certain prescribed subjects, and the primary concern of character kept outside their handling,—these are propositions which break down before the Unity of Human Nature. All the instruction must proceed in a wholesome moral atmosphere if the growth of character is not to be endangered. Life is a stream; it can be separated into a series of distinct currents, as it were water carried through a number of pipes, only at the cost of destroying its identity. Life is a stream, one and continuous, carrying along in its single current all that comes into it, from the rains of heaven, and from the various soils through which it carves its bed, becoming therefore a subtly mingled whole as it moves on to the sea. The three grand educating instruments—Home, School, Church—overlap in their functions and blend in their influence. When the mother hears the child say its prayers, the Home is the Church; when she corrects the child's faults, and insists on the lessons

being prepared, the Home is the School. Suppose the mother were to take no concern with the child's religion because Religion is the Church's affair, and to take no pains about the child's conduct and lessons because those are the School's affair, it needs no argument to show that both Church and School would be injured. It is not otherwise with the other great allies in this sacred business of Education. School and Church cross the threshold of Home at every turn. The three are but facets of a single Process.

5. If we needed any evidence of the power of education to shape for good or for evil the mind of a nation, we may find it in the present situation of Europe. Why is almost the whole of Europe now engaged in a desolating war? We know sufficiently well the last phases of the diplomacy which preceded the outbreak of hostilities, and we can have no doubt that the immediate cause of conflict was the aggressive policy of the German Empire. But what lies behind that aggressive policy? How has it come about that the German people, civilized, industrious, intelligent, indeed in the van of the world's intellectual effort, has lent itself, seemingly with readiness, to the ambitious policy of its Government? We must not allow ourselves to think meanly of the

German nation. Are you a student of philosophy? You will not easily be led to despise the country which produced KANT, and HEGEL, and many lesser philosophers. Are you a lover of music? You will feel something more than respect for the nation of HANDEL, BEETHOVEN, MENDELSSOHN, MOZART, WAGNER, and BACH. Are you a student of poetry and literature? You will know what place in the world's roll of honour is held by SCHILLER, GOETHE, and HEINE. Are you a historian? You will know what place to give to VON RANKE, MOMMSEN, VON SYBEL, and many others. Are you a student of science? or a lawyer? or a theologian? You will own your teachers in many illustrious Germans. There can be then no question of belittling the German nation. It is one of the greatest and most richly endowed of all civilized nations. All this makes the question more perplexing and difficult to answer. How is it that this great and eminent people has been carried by its rulers into this criminal War? The answer must be found in the fact that for many years past the education of the German people has been deliberately directed to this sinister end. War has been held up in the school, and in the universities, on the platforms, and even in the pulpits as a great and glorious thing,

the right instrument to use for securing national greatness, the school of human character, and the factory of imperial power. Peace and goodwill—the Message of Bethlehem—have been derided as the marks of an effeminate and contemptible weakness, and the warlike qualities have been exalted as the best worth human attainment. This teaching has gone along with an organization of the nation on military lines. The first place in social regard has been habitually given to military eminence, until a wholly perverted outlook on the world has been established in the nation, and Germany has thought of itself as lifted above all other peoples, ordained for universal empire, and exempt from common morality. The roots of the horrors in Belgium are to be traced to the false teachings in Germany. This fact adds greatly to the gravity of the War, for it means that no common interests are at stake. It is a conflict of Ideals, on the issue of which must depend the whole character of European Civilization. Is this Gospel of Naked Force, which has led the German armies across the frontiers of Belgium and France, to prevail? Or, rather, shall it be so defeated that even the German nation shall refuse any longer to tolerate it, and a foundation shall be laid for a better and a saner ordering of

international life? Let us look to it that even in the stress of the great conflict we are not ourselves carried into an acceptance of those doctrines of violence and revenge which truly we are striving to defeat. There is too much talking about revenge, too much dwelling on all that exasperates and alienates, too much that sounds like an echo of the militarism which we hope to destroy. "BE NOT DECEIVED; GOD IS NOT MOCKED: FOR WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH, THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP."

6. Let us end by giving to the Apostle's words a direct personal reference. Every man is before all things charged with the wardship of his own character. "NO MAN MAY DELIVER HIS BROTHER, OR GIVE ACCOUNT UNTO GOD FOR HIM. FOR IT COST MORE TO REDEEM THEIR SOULS, THEREFORE HE MUST LET THAT ALONE FOR EVER." There is a region into which none can penetrate: it is a locked room wherein no man may enter. That secret place of the spirit is the factory of character, and into it we alone may come. There we accumulate the treasures of experience, and register life in terms of moral attainment or decline. There we entertain the evil spirits of self-indulgence, and frame the final verdict of our own condemnation. Only in the language of paradox can the truth be indicated

here. Here, indeed, the paradoxes of the Gospel find interpretation. Take, for example, these words of our SAVIOUR : "IF ANY MAN WOULD COME AFTER ME, LET HIM DENY HIMSELF, AND TAKE UP HIS CROSS, AND FOLLOW ME. FOR WHOSOEVER WOULD SAVE HIS LIFE SHALL LOSE IT ; AND WHOSOEVER SHALL LOSE HIS LIFE FOR MY SAKE AND THE GOSPEL'S SHALL SAVE IT. FOR WHAT DOTH IT PROFIT A MAN, TO GAIN THE WHOLE WORLD, AND FORFEIT HIS LIFE ? FOR WHAT SHOULD A MAN GIVE IN EXCHANGE FOR HIS LIFE ?" This is the language of Paradox ; and yet how luminous and how arresting when we read it in connexion with our own personal lives ! All through our years on earth there is a double process to be discerned, external in the actions we perform, internal in the self-fashioning those actions imply. We are becoming something all the while, as well as doing something : being shaped and changed for the better or the worse by the words and deeds which fill our days. And, finally, the Judgment turns on what we have become, not on what we have done ; or, rather, what we have done is tested by what it has made us become. We cannot keep a profit and loss account with our MAKER, setting such and such good deeds against such and such bad. The moral

categories are decisive. It is a question of quality, not of quantity. "WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH, THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP. FOR HE THAT SOWETH UNTO HIS OWN FLESH SHALL OF THE FLESH REAP CORRUPTION; BUT HE THAT SOWETH UNTO THE SPIRIT SHALL OF THE SPIRIT REAP ETERNAL LIFE."

XI

CHRISTIAN PRAYER¹

THY KINGDOM COME. THY WILL BE DONE, AS IN HEAVEN, SO ON EARTH.—*St. Matthew* vi. 10.

I. PERHAPS there is no part of religion which more perplexes an educated and considering Christian of our own time than Prayer; and on a Day of National Intercession this inevitable perplexity must needs cloud the spirit, and even disturb the conscience. Many obstinate questionings force themselves unbidden on the mind. What may rightly be the objects of our petition? What must be the range and what the method of Christian intercession? What may we suppose will be the effect of our prayers? Ardent believers, indeed, are rarely careful to measure their language on these matters. Too often they speak as if there resided in Christian prayer a certain force which operated

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on January 3, 1915, being the day appointed for National Intercession.

irresistibly, and, so to speak, automatically ; as if no limits could be set to the effect of believing petition ; as if, in fact, the course of Providence were really directed by human volition. It is probably the case that those who use such language do within their own minds add divers conditioning factors ; but they do not dwell on these, or discern them very carefully. Most often they surrender themselves to facile pious emotions, and seek from language rather a stimulus to devotion than an aid to intelligence. It must in fairness be added, that there is much within the Scriptures, and still more in the religious tradition of Mankind, which seems to sanction their most extravagant theories ; and in times of religious excitement there is little disposition within the Christian Society to bring the practice of the pious under the criticism of the thoughtful. None the less there is a Nemesis which ever pursues every form of excess ; and the Nemesis of religious exaggeration is a sceptical reaction, which may sweep the disheartened and disappointed Christian far from the moorings of reasonable Faith. At the present time we are living in circumstances of extraordinary emotional pressure, and I will not conceal from you that I regard the process of our religious life with considerable anxiety.

2. War is by no means wholly favourable to Religion, although it cannot be doubted that it brings home to many individual consciences the central issue with which Religion is concerned. For, indeed, War withdraws from normal life its steadyng factors, and immerses society in a bewildering and terrible uncertainty. Men discover with dismay that their tenure of the familiar and established order of life is pitifully frail. Death thrusts itself across their outlook and seems to fill their horizon. Sudden revolutions of individual fortune are frequent, and add to the prevailing insecurity. "MEN FAINT FOR FEAR, AND FOR EXPECTATION OF THE THINGS WHICH ARE COMING ON THE WORLD." "FEAR" is a very unwholesome state of mind. A sacred writer describes it suggestively as "NOTHING ELSE BUT A SURRENDER OF THE SUCCOURS WHICH REASON OFFERETH." In an atmosphere of fear men become extremely credulous, for when so much that is amazing is actually happening, who can say that anything is improbable? They are predisposed to superstition, and swept easily into the acceptance of crude and even debasing notions and procedures. Religion seems to lose hold of Morality. The Churches are filled with worshippers from whose hearts justice and charity have fled; and Christians

fall back with disconcerting promptitude to the ethical plane of the Imprecatory Psalms. All the interests which rest on Superstition stand to gain by War, but not Religion. It was in a time of almost continuous war that JEREMIAH pictured his nation as falling willingly under the yoke of professionalized Religion: "A WONDERFUL AND HORRIBLE THING IS COME TO PASS IN THE LAND; THE PROPHETS PROPHESY FALSELY, AND THE PRIESTS BEAR RULE BY THEIR MEANS; AND MY PEOPLE LOVE TO HAVE IT SO: AND WHAT WILL YE DO IN THE END THEREOF?" War commonly coincides with intellectual sterility, and galvanizes moribund beliefs and practices into new life. It is certain that the Church of England during the long conflict with France a century ago grew rigid and narrow; and there are reasons for thinking that the tremendous conflict with Germany, in which we are now engaged, will strengthen every retrograde and sterilizing influence within the Churches.

3. No doubt it is the case that here, as in most human affairs, good and evil elements are strangely mingled. The human heart has its rights which may not be ignored with impunity; and much is conceded to the devout and the sorrowful in time of War which a calm judgment might hesitate to

sanction. The charitable concessions of one age become the tyrannous corruptions of another. A considering observer of the Church of England may perhaps be pardoned, if he confess to a measure of apprehension at the rapid development of devotions connected with the Departed—a development eminently natural in this crisis of emotion, but none the less requiring a more intelligent and resolute handling than it seems likely to receive, if it is not to depress the whole level of English Religion.

This morning, then, by way of preparation for the Special Intercessions this afternoon, it may not be unsuitable or unprofitable that we should consider the subject of Christian Prayer.

4. First of all, we must needs turn to that great passage of the Sermon on the Mount, in which our SAVIOUR rebuked certain faults of His religious contemporaries, and set forth a worthier doctrine of Prayer, adding, to make His meaning clear to the simplest, that incomparable Form, which has ever since continued in the Church, as both the standing rebuke of Christian superstition, and the supreme model of Christian petition. "WHEN YE PRAY," He said to His disciples, "YE SHALL NOT BE AS THE HYPOCRITES: FOR THEY LOVE TO STAND AND PRAY IN THE SYNAGOGUES AND IN THE

CORNERS OF THE STREETS, THAT THEY MAY BE SEEN OF MEN. VERILY I SAY UNTO YOU, THEY HAVE RECEIVED THEIR REWARD." The prayer of ostentation is sterile precisely because its direction is wholly earthward; and such result as it can secure must needs belong also to the earth. Christian Prayer must not be of that sort. "BUT THOU, WHEN THOU PRAYEST, ENTER INTO THINE INNER CHAMBER, AND HAVING SHUT THY DOOR, PRAY TO THY FATHER WHICH IS IN SECRET, AND THY FATHER WHICH SEETH IN SECRET SHALL RECOMPENSE THEE." Everything turns on the theory of God which finds expression in prayer. If, indeed, He be the FATHER of our spirit, from Whom we come, in Whom we live, to Whom we go, Whose Mind is disclosed within our hearts by those chaste and righteous intuitions which lift us above our baser appetites, and make us supreme over our circumstances, then we must set ourselves in prayer to get behind the darkening veil of phenomena into His Presence, where spirit holds fellowship with Spirit, the created with its Creator, a man with his Maker. Accordingly, the manner of praying will be congruous with all this. There can be no question here of the courtly language of regulated homage, or of the magical formulæ of superstition, or of the

protracted and elaborated litanies of mechanical devotion. "AND IN PRAYING," continues the LORD, "USE NOT VAIN REPETITIONS, AS THE GENTILES DO: FOR THEY THINK THAT THEY SHALL BE HEARD FOR THEIR MUCH SPEAKING. BE NOT THEREFORE LIKE UNTO THEM: FOR YOUR FATHER KNOWETH WHAT THINGS YE HAVE NEED OF, BEFORE YE ASK HIM." Then our SAVIOUR added the Pattern Prayer, emphasizing the necessity of a harmony of moral disposition between the suppliant and the God to Whom he presented his petition. "BUT IF YE FORGIVE NOT MEN THEIR TRESPASSES, NEITHER WILL YOUR FATHER FORGIVE YOUR TRESPASSES."

5. This Teaching of the Sermon on the Mount does not stand alone, nor is it to be read as a complete exposition of the Mind of Christ. Rather it must be correlated with our LORD'S Example, and with the other exhortations which He addressed to His disciples. We must certainly read it in the light of His plain intention that His disciples should form a Society, and practise therein those virtues which enrich and beautify social life. We must see it applied by the inspired Apostles, when according to His commandment they preached the Gospel, and organized their converts into Churches. Still,

throughout, we shall hold fast to the principles so impressively disclosed in the Sermon on the Mount. The LORD'S Prayer must remain the Model of all Christian Prayers ; and we must never think that there is any virtue in petitions, however protracted and ardent, which depart from the principles which that Prayer expresses.

6. Christian Prayer, then, rests on the fact that GOD is "OUR FATHER," concerned with paternal love for all His children, seeking from them their natural tribute of confidence and responsive love. In prayer we draw near to God of set purpose, and concentrate our whole minds on the certainty of His Presence. Clearly such effort of the spirit implies Faith; and so the Apostle says that "WITHOUT FAITH IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BE WELL PLEASING UNTO HIM," adding as the reason, that "HE THAT COMETH TO GOD MUST BELIEVE THAT HE IS, AND THAT HE IS A REWARDER OF THEM THAT SEEK AFTER HIM." The Fatherhood of God prohibits mere individualism, or mere nationalism in Christian petitions. We may not quietly assume that we are the favourites of Heaven, or strive to make the common Parent a partisan in our controversies. It is in some sense true to say of Israel that it was "the chosen people," for it was

the Will of God to make Israel the consecrated instrument of His Providence in a measure and degree which are not, so far as we can know, true of any other nation. We know that the Jews readily twisted this Divine election to their own deep injury, interpreting it vainly in terms of privilege, and looking down scornfully on all other peoples. We know also by what stern disciplines their error was disclosed and rebuked. Nevertheless there is in human nature a deep-rooted tendency to monopolize the Divine favour, and the Jewish error has been frequently repeated in Christian communities. When MILTON wrote proudly of "God's Englishmen," he struck a note which appealed as much to the ancestral pride of his countrymen as to their piety: we have been witnesses of a similar blending of religion and national sentiment in the frequent orations of the German Emperor. Let us remember that no nation has a monopoly of this fault, that all should be on their guard against it, and that it is deeply inconsistent with the fundamental truth on which Christian Prayer proceeds. The ALMIGHTY FATHER looks with equal love on all His children, and no prayers are so acceptable to Him as those which are conceived in that spirit of fraternal Charity, which the realizing of His Fatherhood must

create in human hearts. "THIS COMMANDMENT HAVE WE FROM HIM," says ST. JOHN, "THAT HE WHO LOVETH GOD LOVE HIS BROTHER ALSO."

7. The Prayer of Faith is only then effectual when it is also the Prayer of Charity. Let the thought of hatred possess the soul, and his petitions are rejected before they leave the suppliant's lips. Hence the importance which the Gospel attaches to reconciliation as a preliminary to prayer: "IF THEREFORE," says the LORD, "THOU ART OFFERING THY GIFT AT THE ALTAR, AND THERE REMEMBEREST THAT THY BROTHER HATH AUGHT AGAINST THEE, LEAVE THERE THY GIFT BEFORE THE ALTAR, AND GO THY WAY, FIRST BE RECONCILED TO THY BROTHER, AND THEN COME AND OFFER THY GIFT." A pathetic story, which illustrates the necessity of reconciliation, has come down to us from the history of the imperial persecutions. NICEPHORUS, a Christian of Antioch, was an intimate friend of a presbyter named SAPRICIUS, but had quarrelled with him. He had repeatedly sought to make peace with his alienated friend, but in vain. In the persecution SAPRICIUS was arrested, endured torture, and was condemned to die by the sword. Again NICEPHORUS sought his favour, and was again refused. Thereupon God

withdrew the grace of constancy which SAPRICIUS had hitherto possessed. He consented to offer sacrifice to the idols in spite of the entreaties of NICEPHORUS, who at once took his place and suffered death for CHRIST. The unforgiving spirit was as a traitor in the camp, opening the gate to the enemy; or as an unheeded wound, through which the vital energies of the body were silently wasting away, so that when the sudden emergency of trial came, there was not strength enough left to sustain it.

8. Faith and Charity must always be united with Purity of heart attested by rightness of Life. To come to the ALL-HOLY GOD the while we are cherishing some habit of sin, is to strike ourselves out of the company of acceptable worshippers. "THE MOST HIGH HATH NO PLEASURE IN THE OFFERINGS OF THE UNGODLY; NEITHER IS HE PACIFIED FOR SINS BY THE MULTITUDE OF SACRIFICES." A genuine repentance can only be securely certified by an honest reformation. So the Sage wrote quaintly, yet with penetrating force: "HE THAT WASHETH HIMSELF AFTER TOUCHING A DEAD BODY, AND TOUCHETH IT AGAIN, WHAT PROFIT HATH HE IN HIS WASHING? EVEN SO A MAN FASTING FOR HIS SINS, AND GOING AGAIN,

AND DOING THE SAME; WHO WILL LISTEN TO HIS PRAYER?" Here it is that our vain, deceiving hearts are ever betraying us. We mistake the ardour of our devotion for a sincere service of God, and unconsciously assume that He will acquiesce in the same confusion. The history of organized Religion is a history of hypocrisy, beginning in the unheeded severance of worship and conduct, and proceeding to a complete breach between them. Then, when formal worship is most elaborated, magnificent, and popular, it has to be brought home to the self-deluding worshippers that it lacks the primary condition of acceptance, and is in God's sight only as an aggravation of sin. How severe, how ruthless, how indiscriminating, is the Prophet's verdict! "WHEN YE COME TO APPEAR BEFORE ME, WHO HATH REQUIRED THIS AT YOUR HAND, TO TRAMPLE MY COURTS? BRING NO MORE VAIN OBLATIONS; INCENSE IS AN ABOMINATION UNTO ME; NEW MOON AND SABBATH, THE CALLING OF ASSEMBLIES,—I CANNOT AWAY WITH INIQUITY AND THE SOLEMN MEETING." Here let me make an observation which perhaps is very relevant to our situation to-day. What is required of us primarily is repentance for our own sins, not a virtuous disgust at the sins of others. We are not

morally competent to put our hand to the task of reforming other people until we have made our own lives right. So much our SAVIOUR made very clear in the Sermon on the Mount, when thus He addresses the censorious but careless reformer: "HOW WILT THOU SAY TO THY BROTHER, LET ME CAST OUT THE MOTE OUT OF THINE EYE; AND LO, THE BEAM IS IN THINE OWN EYE? THOU HYPOCRITE, CAST OUT FIRST THE BEAM OUT OF THINE OWN EYE; AND THEN SHALT THOU SEE CLEARLY TO CAST OUT THE MOTE OUT OF THY BROTHER'S EYE."

9. Faith, Charity, sincere Repentance—these are the indispensable conditions of acceptable prayer, and our first duty when we purpose to take part in a solemn act of national intercession is to search our own hearts, and make a severe inquisition into our own lives. What men call "National Sins" are only individual sins which have become popular; and they can only be remedied by as many individual repents as there are individual transgressions. When we have ordered rightly our personal conduct, we are in a position calmly and resolutely to face our public duty, and we can, nay we ought, to strengthen ourselves for the toils and sacrifices, which the

fulfilment of that public duty may involve, by "falling to prayer," seeking from the Source of all Wisdom "a right judgment in all things," and striving to bring all our hopes and plans within that sublime and all-comprehending petition, "THY WILL BE DONE, AS IN HEAVEN, SO ON EARTH."

10. Undoubtedly we shall have much to face in this New Year, which has been ushered in with such tragical events on sea and land: much that will try our nerves, much that will test our fortitude, much that will wound our hearts, much that will desolate our lives. War is the emptying out on the world of a chalice filled with every malediction, and where those fell contents shall come, and when, and how, who can tell? It is well that we should look our troubles full in the face, and settle our minds resolutely to "do out the duty" which has been laid upon us. Remember, when we have named "duty," we have entered the sanctuary of Religion. For "duty" is for us always the

Stern Daughter of the Voice of God.

Loyal spirits in all the afflicted peoples may lift themselves to the common Father in that Divine prayer, "THY WILL BE DONE." The All-Righteous, All-Knowing God alone can track the sources of

this immense crime, and fasten upon every man the true measure of his responsibility. Behind the ineffable tragedy of War—horrors of siege, and trench, and battle, sorrows of exile and bereavement, disasters of storm and the insatiable deep, all the mingled miseries of a strife which enfolds the whole world in a Nessus shirt of suffering—running far back into the past, are the hidden roots of all in human sin. Sinful ambitions, sordid motives, secret and shameful policies of suspicion, falsehood, and injury parting the nations, doctrines of pride and hatred confusing men's consciences, and firing their passions,—these are the springs of the conflagration which now threatens to consume the fabric of civilization. And these are not the mark of one nation only, but have had their baleful influence on the whole life of civilized mankind. We know that these things are contrary to the Will of God ; and we pray, therefore, that we may so fight that the effect of our fighting shall be to weaken, and not to strengthen, their hold on the world. So praying, we may all of us make our own the words of the Apostle, and see even this fearful conflict in spiritual relations : “ OUR WRESTLING IS NOT AGAINST FLESH AND BLOOD, BUT AGAINST THE

SPIRITUAL HOSTS OF WICKEDNESS." And from this spiritual conflict, from the vast sorrows of the War, the thousands of the unknowing and obscure slain, the homes darkened with abiding sorrow, the infinite anguish of so many innocent hearts, there shall come to the Nations, by the mercy of God, Redemption and Release, the passing of the age-long madness of strife, and the coming of the Kingdom of the PRINCE OF PEACE.

XII

THE MINISTRY OF HEALING¹

LUKE, THE BELOVED PHYSICIAN.—*Colossians* iv. 14.

I. STUDENTS of the New Testament have generally perceived in this tender expression a note of reminiscence. ST. PAUL is calling back to memory the debt which he himself owed to the kindness as well as to the skill of ST. LUKE, at a time in his career when he had stood in need of both. In the Epistle to the Galatians we are told that the great missionary had been arrested by a disabling sickness in the very course of his evangelistic work, and had made the enforced change of his plans the occasion of fresh effort. “YE KNOW—so he addresses the Galatians—“THAT BECAUSE OF AN INFIRMITY OF THE FLESH I- PREACHED THE GOSPEL UNTO YOU THE FIRST TIME.” We

¹ Preached in Carlisle Cathedral on the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, October 18, 1914 (St. Luke's Day), to a congregation of Doctors and Nurses.

learn from the narrative in the Acts that it was about the same time that ST. LUKE joined the Apostle's company ; and we may fairly conclude with BISHOP LIGHTFOOT "that he may have joined him partly in a professional capacity." The acquaintance created by necessity grew into a rich spiritual alliance. ST. LUKE became the companion and disciple of his illustrious patient, learning from him as well as ministering to him, giving him the support of his sympathy as well as the assistance of his medical skill. From the earliest times LUKE, THE BELOVED PHYSICIAN, has been identified with the Evangelist to whom we owe not only the most beautiful of the Gospels, but also the first and best history of the Christian Church. It is not a little remarkable that in the four places in the New Testament, in which ST. LUKE is named, he is associated with the name of another Evangelist, ST. MARK ; and this circumstance becomes even more interesting when we remember that, in composing his Gospel, ST. LUKE may be said to have made the Gospel according to ST. MARK the basis of his own composition, not hesitating to alter it with considerable freedom. That two of the four evangelists should have belonged to the company of ST. PAUL'S

personal companions is a significant indication of the great Apostle's power of attracting younger men of ability, and of inspiring them with the ambition to work. ST. LUKE is interesting on many grounds. "He is the only one of the Evangelists who was of Gentile origin; and with the exception of his companion ST. PAUL, and possibly of Apollos, he was the only one among the first preachers of the Gospel who had had scientific training."¹ The Collect for the Day, following ST. CHRYSOSTOM, identifies the Evangelist with "THE BROTHER WHOSE PRAISE IN THE GOSPEL IS SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE CHURCHES," to whom ST. PAUL refers in the Epistle to the Corinthians.² We cannot doubt that ST. LUKE gained his nobly catholic conception of the SAVIOUR'S Life and Teaching from the Apostle, to whom had been given the glorious task of breaking down the "MIDDLE WALL OF PARTITION" between Jews and Gentiles, and opening wide the gates of the Kingdom to all believers. At least as early as the third century it was believed that the Evangelist was a native of Antioch, and there is no reason to doubt the tradition. The atmosphere of great cities is favourable to tolerance, because they

¹ *Vide* Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xix.

² 2 Corinthians viii. 18.

are themselves largely cosmopolitan. To breathe that atmosphere in early youth, when mind and character are plastic, cannot fail to affect both. We remember that ST. PAUL himself had been subjected to that influence in the great city of Tarsus, a famous seat of learning and a busy commercial centre. Antioch in the record of the earliest Church stands over against Jerusalem as the second capital of Christianity. As Jerusalem was the seat of Jewish, so Antioch was the seat of Gentile Christianity. ST. LUKE may have been one of those Greeks to whom the exiles from Jerusalem, whom SAUL the Pharisee had driven forth by his persecuting zeal about the time of the death of STEPHEN, had dared, against their prejudices, and in the teeth of their precedents, to preach the Gospel. A few years pass, and the young Christian Doctor finds himself in personal contact with the converted Persecutor. What a fascinating chapter of coincidence opens on the fancy ! But we must return to the relatively meagre record of fact. In the narrative of ST. PAUL'S journey to Jerusalem, ST. LUKE tells us that the Apostle and his company were entertained in the house of "PHILIP THE EVANGELIST, WHO WAS ONE OF THE SEVEN." "NOW THIS

MAN," he says, "HAD FOUR DAUGHTERS, VIRGINS, WHICH DID PROPHESY." The visit was protracted for "MANY DAYS," and we may be sure that much spiritual discourse passed between the remarkable company who had been brought together. It cannot be excessive to connect together ST. LUKE'S acquaintance with the Prophetesses of Cæsarea, and his emphasis on the ministry of women in his Gospel. This emphasis is worth noting.

Jew and Gentile alike looked down on women. But all through the Gospel according to ST. LUKE they are allowed a prominent place, and many types of womanhood are placed before us: Elizabeth, the Virgin Mary, the prophetess Anna, the widow at Nain, the nameless sinner in the house of Simon, Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, the woman with the issue, Martha and Mary, the widow with the two mites, the "daughters of Jerusalem," and the women at the tomb.¹

No doubt his profession as a physician would have brought ST. LUKE much into comradeship with women in that blessed ministry of nursing, in which the feminine graces of patience and sympathy have ever found practical expression. This professional association had bred a respect which was deepened, rationalized, and hallowed by his Christian discipleship. In the ancient world physicians were

¹ *Vide* Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xlvi.

commonly either freedmen or slaves, and we may be fairly sure that ST. LUKE belonged to that social category. He would understand from personal experience the profound significance of ST. PAUL's words: "FOR AS MANY OF YOU AS WERE BAPTIZED INTO CHRIST DID PUT ON CHRIST. THERE CAN BE NEITHER JEW NOR GREEK, THERE CAN BE NEITHER BOND NOR FREE, THERE CAN BE NO MALE AND FEMALE: FOR YE ALL ARE ONE MAN IN CHRIST JESUS."¹

2. In saying that physicians were anciently slaves and freedmen, I have reminded you of one great difference between antiquity and our own age. But not only was the medical profession socially undistinguished: it was also morally degraded. "In antiquity there were no examinations, and little responsibility: hence many unqualified practitioners thrust themselves into a lucrative profession." Science was in its infancy; disease was commonly connected with the hostile agency of superhuman or infra-human powers; and these could only be dealt with effectually by those who had mastered the secret spells to which they must needs yield, or the strange propitiations by which they could be appeased. "The prodigious superstition which antiquity welded

¹ Galatians iii. 27, 28.

into medicine infected most of the practitioners."¹ The association of medicine and religion long persisted, to the injury of both. Christian Charity tended to prolong a situation which had its roots in pagan superstition. In its anxiety for men's souls, the Church forgot the necessities of their bodies, or rather subordinated the latter with cruel unreasonableness to the former. A curious chapter of perverted charity is that which contains the long series of ecclesiastical regulations designed to subordinate the medical profession to the proselytizing interest of the Church. The Council of Lateran in 1216 ordered that all physicians when called in should commence by inducing the patient to confess. Two reasons were assigned for this rule. On the one hand, it was held that sickness is often connected with sin, and, therefore, that the surest method of cure is the removal of the patient's sin. On the other hand, it was thought that sickness should not be suffered to become grave or even fatal before the patient had secured the sacramental grace, by which the Christian may be fortified against the crowning crisis of Death. Almost up to our own times the attempt has continued thus by ecclesiastical regulation to bind the doctor to the service of religion.

¹ *Vide Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners*, vol. i. p. 167 f.

But from the first the facts of life have been too strong for the authorities. A casuistry, more humane than logical, has emptied the official rules of relevance, and practically left the physician free to pursue his course without reference to the spiritual aspects of his work. Now, indeed, "the wheel has gone full circle," and it is becoming doubtful whether the physician in his turn is not going to repeat the same error, insisting in the interest of his proper work that the minister of religion shall be wholly subordinated. Body and spirit are distinct, and must be separately handled ; but they are so closely bound together in life that the separateness of treatment cannot be reasonably pushed to a total dissidence. We are advancing slowly but surely to a working agreement between the two great professions which meet in their labours when human infirmity is concerned. The conclusion of *The Clerical and Medical Committee of Inquiry into Spiritual, Faith, and Mental Healing* represents a point of view which is far indeed from general acceptance :

They consider that spiritual ministration should be recognized equally with medical ministration as carrying God's blessing to the sick, and as His duly appointed means for the furtherance of their highest interests. Too often it has been forgotten that health, bodily and mental, is capable of being influenced for good by spiritual means.

No doubt the reluctance of the medical profession generally to accept this view, or to welcome any such co-operation with ministers of religion as it indicates, has received considerable justification from the extravagant pretensions of many religious people, who use a language about "spiritual healing" which can by no means be reconciled with the truth of science, or with the interest of the community. We are certainly witnessing the revival of many crude superstitions. Medievalism has extended from services and ceremonies to the region of ideas. The pulpit is threatened by the fate which has already to a large extent overtaken the Communion Table. We may be rightly suspicious of anything which may seem to give support to claims which are equally extravagant and anti-social. It may not, perhaps, be superfluous to point out that the Committee, whose conclusion I quoted, add the assurance that "they strongly deprecate the independent treatment of disease by irresponsible and unqualified persons." What we need is, not an exchange of functions between the clergy and the doctors (the mere suggestion of which must provoke contempt in every scientifically trained mind), but the recognition by clergy and doctors alike, that their several and inviolably distinctive tasks can only

then be adequately fulfilled by Christian men, when the merely professional aspect has faded before a diviner conception, and those tasks are seen in relation to the Redemptive Work of the World's REDEEMER. The whole Ministry of the INCARNATE is continued in the Church "WHICH IS HIS BODY, THE FULNESS OF HIM THAT FILLETH ALL IN ALL."¹ That Ministry, we know, extended to men's bodies as well as to their souls. It was philanthropy as well as preaching. "GIVE YE THEM TO EAT"; "BRING HITHER THY SON"; "BE HEALED OF THY PLAGUE"; "THY FAITH HATH SAVED THEE, GO IN PEACE,"—these are typical sayings of the Gospel. Visibly among men the SAVIOUR revealed the loving-kindness of the FATHER. In pain, disease, and wretchedness He saw "THE WORKS OF THE DEVIL," which He had been sent into the world to destroy. The Healing of Disease plays a great part in the record of the LORD'S Life as the Evangelists have recorded it. This healing activity, not less than that which is more specifically spiritual, has been perpetuated on the earth. "AS THE FATHER SENT ME, EVEN SO SEND I YOU," is the Commission of the Christian Society, and it indicates that the range of ecclesi-

¹ Ephesians i. 23.

astical action must be as extensive as that of the FOUNDER. We must trace this healing activity, then, not as some vainly suggest, in the fraud-shadowed annals of "faith-healing," but in the majestic development of medical and surgical science within Christendom.

3. This majestic development challenges explanation. It is not obvious, or even probable. As we consider it, we can find it full of profound suggestiveness. Why is it that a religion, which is confessedly concerned most deeply with the eternal interests of mankind, should prove itself in experience to be uniquely favourable to those interests which are temporal? Again and again, and never so insistently as in our own time, hostile critics of Christianity have urged its proper indifference to the secular well-being of society. Yet always, sooner or later, the paradox has authenticated itself in the life of society; and the triumphant logic of the critics has been confuted by facts which none can question. The Christian, just because his hopes range beyond the present, is found to carry into his terrestrial duties a vigour and a conscientiousness which the avowed Secularist does not commonly exhibit. It is the case that the value of life is enormously enhanced by the conviction that life is everlasting;

that the interest of life grows greater as its issues are seen to outlast the grave ; that the power and dignity of life are only then perceived when life is held to be consecrated to a Divine service, and inspired by a Divine purpose. These general considerations are in the case of Christianity reinforced by a particular and most weighty argument. To be a Christian is to be committed to the loftiest conceivable view of human nature, for necessarily the measure and value of human nature must be seen in the "SON OF MAN." JESUS, in the belief of Christians, is the human medium of God's supreme Self-Revelation. In Him the unseen CREATOR Himself became Incarnate. What is this but to say that there is that in human nature which makes Man competent to fulfil so august a ministry? What is this but to maintain that human nature is so kindred with the Divine Nature as to be capable of revealing God? There are two oracles of the Johannine CHRIST which set forth the twofold aspect of the Incarnation. On the one hand, "HE THAT HATH SEEN ME HATH SEEN THE FATHER." On the other hand, "LET NOT YOUR HEART BE TROUBLED. YE BELIEVE IN GOD, BELIEVE ALSO IN ME."

4. Now this exaltation of the human material on which the doctor works, has led necessarily to a

corresponding exaltation of the doctor himself. The human body has acquired a new sanctity within the Christian sphere. It shares in some deep sense the immortality of the self which has found in it the sympathetic vehicle of expression. It carries the record of the human spirit, and must abide the Divine judgment. In ministering to its needs, rescuing it from the outrage and profanation of disease, restoring it from weakness to strength, the Doctor and the Nurse are engaged upon a sacred work.

Corruptio optimi pessima. The essential greatness of the healing art renders its unworthy exercise doubly degrading. This is true of every profession, that the higher it is, the worse is the effect on character of its misuse ; but it is especially the case with the work of the Physician and the Nurse. An unfeeling physician, a callous nurse—these are contradictions in terms ; and yet, who will dare to say that they are unknown ? The failure may be felt, even when it cannot be seen. EARLE, in his quaint collection of studies known as *Microcosmography*, names as one of the traits of what he calls “ a mere dull physician,” his lack of sympathy and feeling ; and this he ascribes to his familiarity with brutalizing spectacles :

Anatomies, and other spectacles of mortality have hardened him, and he is no more struck with a funeral than a grave-maker.

In morals, that is of course through all our lives, we are always confronted by an inexorable alternative. Either advance or retrogression, improvement or decline ; no third course is possible, no neutrality, no standing still. “YE CANNOT SERVE GOD AND MAMMON.” Our experiences raise or degrade us ; open new vistas of service, or waste our serviceable powers ; bring us forward into clearer light, or thrust us back into deepening shadows. And the key to our moral fate is in our own hands. “NO MAN CAN DELIVER HIS BROTHER, OR MAKE AGREEMENT UNTO GOD FOR HIM.” The SAVIOUR said as much, and sternly : “TO HIM THAT HATH IT SHALL BE GIVEN : BUT FROM HIM THAT HATH NOT SHALL BE TAKEN AWAY EVEN THAT WHICH HE HATH.”

5. It is impossible to preach to a congregation of Doctors and Nurses without seeing them, and all they represent, in relation to the supreme calamity which has befallen the civilized world. They are commissioned to fulfil the Ministry of Healing in circumstances of tragic difficulty. They are sent to carry into the scenes of unimaginable human cruelty the Witness of Divine Compassion ; they are to

pass over the fields of Death bearing the message of Life; they are to confront the brutal impersonal ravages of War with the gentle individualizing ministry of mercy. They are bidden to redeem from utter savagery those spectacles of horror by touching them with the unearthly light of CHRIST'S Compassion. Take them and their witness away, and what is left to our distracted and undone race, but the blackness of a darkness which may be felt? But what a strain on character such a ministry must involve! What possibilities of failure in courage, and sympathy, and duty! "WHO IS SUFFICIENT FOR THESE THINGS?" Who indeed? But they are not left unhelped. They march beneath the Banner of the Cross; and where the Cross advances, the Powers of Heaven confront the world. A Presence is with them, and they are never alone. It may be that they cannot, or will not, see It; but as they loyally do out the duty, It is surely there. The old parable of the beleaguered Prophet still holds true: men's eyes are opened in the stress of life, and "BEHOLD THE MOUNTAIN IS FULL OF HORSES AND CHARIOTS OF FIRE ROUND ABOUT ELISHA."

XIII

THE DEATH OF JESUS EXEMPLARY FOR US¹

AND WHEN JESUS HAD CRIED WITH A LOUD VOICE, HE SAID, FATHER, INTO THY HANDS I COMMEND MY SPIRIT: AND HAVING SAID THIS, HE GAVE UP THE GHOST. AND WHEN THE CENTURION SAW WHAT WAS DONE, HE GLORIFIED GOD, SAYING, CERTAINLY THIS WAS A RIGHTEOUS MAN.—*St. Luke xxiii. 46, 47.*

I. JESUS CHRIST has left on the page of history the record of a perfect human life. There we may find also the record of a perfect human death, that is, of a death which disclosed precisely the sentiments which befit a man who has realized the true greatness of his character as a child of God, and has gained full trust in the Fatherly Providence of the ALMIGHTY. There is, we know, much more in the Life and Death of the INCARNATE SON, but this exemplary aspect lies on the surface of the sacred history, and appeals to all who realize the difficulty

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on Good Friday, April 2, 1915.

of living rightly in such a world as this, and who know that before them, sooner or later, lies the stern contingency of Death. On Good Friday, perhaps, the Christian Preacher may fitly invite his brethren to consider with him that stern and inevitable necessity under which we are all living. "IT IS APPOINTED UNTO MEN ONCE TO DIE." No scepticism challenges that verdict, for it is echoed daily by the common experience. "IN THE MIDST OF LIFE WE ARE IN DEATH," says the Apostle. That is true always; but just now, when the records of death are coming daily from the battle-fields of Europe, none, however unobserving or reluctant, can fail to perceive its truth.

2. It is related of the famous Archbishop, LEIGHTON, that he often expressed his desire to die in an inn; and it is the fact that this desire was satisfied, for he died in the Bell Inn, Warwick Lane, in the year 1684, in the course of a visit to London. His death-bed was cheered by the presence of his loyal and loving disciple, GILBERT BURNET, in whose arms he passed away. It is BURNET who has set on record a noble testimony to LEIGHTON'S saintliness :

I can say of him with great truth, that in a free and frequent conversation with him for above two-and-twenty

years, I never knew him say an idle word, or any that had not a direct tendency to edification, and I never once saw him in any other temper but that which I wished to be in in the last minutes of my life.

That is high praise indeed from an intimate personal friend, and we may infer that a man of whom so much could be said, was not swayed by any artificial or morbid motive, when he expressed the odd ambition to die in an inn. We may conjecture that the excellent prelate wished to be assisted by the actual homelessness of his situation as a lodger in an inn to realize the true state of the Christian in the world, through which he must ever pass as "A STRANGER AND PILGRIM," moving on towards his true home in the spiritual country, where his "CITIZENSHIP" really is.

3. It is certainly the case that travelling does suggest to an observant and considering traveller the precariousness and brevity of life, its solemn tragedies, and its strange chances. Continually, as he gazes with reverent wonder on the monuments of human power and pride, and muses on the superior stability of the works contrasted with the brief continuance of the workers, the paradox of which Death is the supreme exhibition strikes on the traveller's mind. It was a natural collocation of

ideas which induced an Apocryphal writer to say of the "HOPE OF THE UNGODLY MAN" that it "PASSETH BY AS THE REMEMBRANCE OF A GUEST THAT TARRIETH BUT A DAY." Standing in the Colosseum at Rome, or beside the Pyramids of Egypt; or, within our own island, beholding the mysterious boulders of Stonehenge, or the mighty stretches of the Roman Wall; or, coming to Westminster, looking round on "a world of pomp and state, buried in dust," or, in our own Durham, letting the eye rest on the mighty vaults sustained through centuries by piers massive as the rock and fantastic as the forest trees, who will not feel the chill of a great humiliation, and murmur sadly the old bitter refrain of the disillusioned, "VANITY OF VANITIES, ALL IS VANITY"? Nor is it only in presence of the mighty creations of human skill and labour that we feel this. In the New World there are no monuments of awe-inspiring antiquity to suggest such sobering reflections, but their absence is in some measure atoned for by the presence, in majesty unequalled elsewhere, of the mighty works of Nature. The vast rivers, the illimitable prairie, the gigantic mountains, the mammoth trees which have grown for thousands of years, the amazing and enigmatic geysers, the awful canyons,—all these natural

prodigies abash the observer's pride, and quicken his thought, compelling him in spite of himself to realize the shortness and frailty of his life. These impressions are in a sense deepened by the constant farewells which he is exchanging with kindly and pleasant acquaintance, friends of a day, to whom his heart is drawn, whom he knows well he may never see again. He cannot indulge his natural desire to prolong an acquaintance which has suddenly opened no insignificant promise : he must pack up his traps, and resume his wanderings at the relentless moment prescribed in advance, be his wishes what they may. In these circumstances he must needs recognize the wisdom of cultivating the true traveller's temper of detachment, which withholds the affections from engaging themselves anywhere by the way, and reserves the heart's loyalties for the distant and settled factors of home and work.

4. More natural than LEIGHTON'S ascetic fancy is the thought of Death as putting a period to toil and trouble. The tired workman goes home

When Death's mild Curfew shall from work assoil.

I remember feeling strongly the restfulness of Death when I visited the soldiers' cemetery at Arlington near Washington. It is a romantically beautiful

spot, once the residence of the great soldier and hero, ROBERT LEE, now with manifest fitness dedicated to be the burying-place of those who fell in that terrific conflict in which he was one of the protagonists. When one recalled the fearful wrongs which occasioned, and the appalling sufferings which accompanied, the Civil War in America, and gazed on the graves of those who had contended with such manly courage on one side or the other, still and solemn in the sunlight breaking fitfully through the fresh summer foliage of the great trees, then, in the poet's phrase, one felt "half in love with easeful death," and the old sad words of ancient sorrow came back to one's mind: "THERE THE WICKED CEASE FROM TROUBLING ; AND THERE THE WEARY BE AT REST. THERE THE PRISONERS ARE AT EASE TOGETHER ; THEY HEAR NOT THE VOICE OF THE TASKMASTER. THE SMALL AND THE GREAT ARE THERE ; AND THE SERVANT IS FREE FROM HIS MASTER."

5. The early Christians were wont to call their burying-places cemeteries, or sleeping-places, for so the Greek word may be rendered, and the kindly word has persisted in use until the present time. But the thought of those first believers was more directed to the future waking which the word

suggested, than to the immediate rest. To those who fell asleep in CHRIST, with the Sign of His Peace, there would surely come a "Resurrection Morning" of great and endless life. In the most famous of his soliloquies, SHAKESPEARE has fastened on another, and more terrible, suggestion, when he represents the melancholy Prince revolving the alluring thought of suicide, and shrinking back before the undisclosed secrets of the Grave. Death would be welcome, but is Death all that must be faced?

To die, to sleep ;
To sleep : perchance to dream : ay, there's the rub ;
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause.

Christianity brought the message of Judgment after Death, and that awful prospect daunted the reckless mind of the would-be Suicide, and held him to the life he loathed, but dreaded to leave. "IT IS APPOINTED UNTO MEN ONCE TO DIE, AND AFTER THAT THE JUDGMENT."

6. What was it that so greatly impressed the Roman centurion in the Dying of JESUS, and seemed to him proof of goodness? Remember, JESUS was a condemned criminal dying by sentence of the Law

in the cruel and degrading fashion which the Law provided for the worst criminals. The Roman centurion was no doubt familiar enough with the execution of criminals ; and he knew the manner of their dying. Rage venting itself in blasphemy until the strength failed was the normal death-scene at a crucifixion ; but here, from this strange Jew, there had been dignity, and the Seven Words from the Cross, and a solemn anguish ending in a mysterious peace when

The soul that seemed forsaken
Felt her present God again,
And in her Father's Arms
Contented died away.

The final Cry—"FATHER, INTO THY HANDS I COMMEND MY SPIRIT"—and, then, the silent passing, as if by a deliberate act of will, must have moved the soldier profoundly. "WHEN THE CENTURION SAW WHAT WAS DONE, HE GLORIFIED GOD, SAYING, CERTAINLY THIS WAS A RIGHTEOUS MAN." It is a curious phrase which the Evangelist uses—"HE GLORIFIED GOD." What can that mean but that a new sense of the Divine Majesty of Goodness reached his understanding, a sudden vision of a truth dimly seen by his own philosophers, and always hard to keep in mind, that Goodness triumphs

over disaster, and then rides forth most Divinely victorious when its circumstances are most desperate. He perceived that "GOD WAS REIGNING FROM THE TREE," and perforce he offered his homage. "HE GLORIFIED GOD, SAYING, CERTAINLY THIS WAS A RIGHTEOUS MAN."

7. Death, then, meant for JESUS that He passed out of the striving and cruelty of earthly life into the Hands of the HEAVENLY FATHER; and this transition was realized and welcome, becoming a solemn Self-surrender in Faith and Love. "INTO THY HANDS I COMMEND MY SPIRIT." The intimate Communion which marked His Life reached its climax in the hour of Death, and He died as He had lived, consciously in touch with the FATHER.

8. Last words have spiritual significance as summing up the governing thoughts of the life that is ending. The tremendous importance which is sometimes attached to them, quite apart from this testimony to conduct, is surely excessive. For the circumstances in which Death comes to men are often such as prohibit the pious words which mourners love to remember and to repeat. There is no efficacy in death-bed confessions to alter the consistent tenor of a life; nor may we dare to

think that the Divine Equity attaches critical importance to words wrung from the dying by fear, or placed in their mouths by the well-meant zeal of their friends. "KEEP INNOCENCY, AND DO THE THING THAT IS RIGHT; FOR THAT SHALL BRING A MAN PEACE AT THE LAST," writes the Psalmist; and his words commend themselves to our sense of justice. The true significance of dying words concerns the past rather than the future of the speaker.

9. There is, perhaps, no better test of spiritual health than the view we take of Death, and the place which it has in our thoughts. It is easy to be morbid, to fall back into the old pagan manner of thinking and speaking; to be dazed and daunted by the natural tragedy; to draw from it the miserable conclusion of a half-cynical listlessness, fatal to effort, and in the long run fatal to self-respect. The very disgust a thoughtful man must needs feel for the self-absorption in trivialities, which generally prevails in society, will accord easily with this dangerous mood: and the poets, steeped in pagan sentiment, mainly foster it: but we can be in no real doubt as to its wrongness in those who are the disciples of ONE Who has overcome Death, and opened unto us the gate of everlasting Life. It is

easy, especially when we are young and full of business, to ignore Death, and resolutely to banish it from our minds when it comes before us. Society is to no slight extent organized with a view to getting rid of disagreeable facts, and of all facts the most disagreeable to the natural man is the fact of Death. I have often wondered at the skill with which Death is kept out of sight in our modern world. At certain times, and in certain places, funerals pass frequently; but for the most part, though people are dying within a few yards of us every day, we are hardly conscious of the fact. The ranks, in which for a moment a gap has been made, are filled by new recruits, and this so quickly that the casual observer is unconscious of any change. Yet when at some favourable moment we think over our lives, we perforce tell over the tale of those who were with us, and are not; and, perhaps, we wonder that life has so quickly seemed to find its old levels, and that we ourselves have been able so easily to resume the normal course of our lives. Not to be morbid, and not to be frivolous, are obvious demands of Christian duty; but where precisely shall we find the middle way of a sober remembrance of Death, which shall quicken in us the sense of responsibility, without crushing out

our courage ; which shall lift our minds to the world above and beyond, without disgusting us with the tasks of the world present ? I think the answer to this question may be found in the fact that our lives are truly continuous. The Episode of Death is of all episodes the most solemn and critical, but it is no more than an episode in our unending life, no more than the finishing of one chapter in the record and the opening of another. It has the same kind of solemnity as that which invests the close of boyhood, the close of youth, the ending of the vigorous middle life. More awful and more momentous truly, but intrinsically as the rest,—the summing up of one phase and the introduction of another. We are clearly taught that in this crowning episode of Death the same law holds as in all the previous episodes of our lives. It is the Law of Accumulation, by which we carry over into the new phase of being the gains or losses, the advantages or the disadvantages, which have accrued from the last. And we must add with respect to Death, that in some sense, which has no parallel elsewhere, it is the final and determining episode of our lives. There is no means, so far as we are permitted to know, of undoing the follies and repairing the waste of our years on earth. The Divine

Justice discriminates, and in its sentence equity and mercy are blended, but there are conditions which even Omnipotence respects, and these prohibit the removal of the difference between a life rightly used and a life abused. "WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH, THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP," says the Apostle. Therefore the thought of Death will always have the effect of solemnizing us, and of stirring us up to a more responsible manner of living. We ought to aim at so thinking of Death as to gain these results. I do not think such reflections will make us less happy, but they will restrain us from that frivolous and self-regarding behaviour, which is not consistent with the belief that life is responsible and moves ever to Judgment. We shall remember, even in the pressure of business and in the dangerous hour of prosperity, the SAVIOUR'S Words, "A MAN'S LIFE CONSISTETH NOT IN THE ABUNDANCE OF THE THINGS WHICH HE POSSESSETH." We shall study the Death of JESUS, and seek to order our lives so that when we come to die, it may not be impossible, or unnatural, for us also to say, "FATHER, INTO THY HANDS I COMMEND MY SPIRIT."

XIV

REDEMPTION THROUGH SUFFERING¹

APART FROM SHEDDING OF BLOOD THERE IS NO REMISSION.—
Hebrews ix. 22.

I. THE sacred writer has tried, through a process of highly technical reasoning, to disclose to his readers the deep fitness which belongs to the Passion and Death of the World's REDEEMER, and he leads them from the familiar facts of their religious use and wont to the solemn conclusion of the Atonement, made once for all on Calvary for human transgression. That legal system, he tells them, was at every point solemnly suggestive. There they had ever seen closely linked together "PURIFICATION" and "SACRIFICE," the "REMISSION OF SINS" and the "SHEDDING OF BLOOD." Yet the sacrifices themselves were sufficiently futile, for the blood shed in them was but that of unconscious

¹ Preached in Westminster Abbey on the second Sunday in Lent, February 28, 1915.

beasts, and "IT IS IMPOSSIBLE THAT THE BLOOD OF BULLS AND GOATS SHOULD TAKE AWAY SINS." Therefore, the true significance of the legal system could not be found in itself, but only in reference to Something greater than itself to which it pointed, which in some sense it indicated, and for which it made a preparation. The sacrificial system expressed a vital principle of morals, and disclosed the working of a spiritual law. Both are summed up in the sentence which I have chosen as a text: "APART FROM SHEDDING OF BLOOD THERE IS NO REMISSION." The supreme application of that principle, and the crowning illustration of that spiritual law, were on Calvary when the sinless "SON OF MAN" accepted willingly, and with full knowledge, the bitter Chalice of the Passion, and by His voluntary Death "OPENED THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN TO ALL BELIEVERS."

2. It is characteristic of the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews to emphasize the representative character of the Life and Death of the LORD JESUS. He insists on keeping firm hold on the larger significance of the Gospel as a revelation of human potencies and duties. He will not suffer his profound reverence for the Divine CHRIST to carry him into any belittling of His genuine humaneness,

nor permit Christians to lose their grasp of the sublime and inspiring truth, that they are to find the key to their own experiences, and the pledge of their own victory, in the Life and Triumph of their MASTER. That Divine MASTER was, as they, too, must be, "MADE PERFECT THROUGH SUFFERINGS"; He, not less than they, "HAD BEEN IN ALL POINTS TEMPTED"; He fulfilled for them a true High Priesthood by being frankly a "SHARER IN FLESH AND BLOOD"; in the fulfilment of His Mediatorial Work He could bring to it knowledge and sympathy born of a common humanity, for He was a "HIGH PRIEST THAT COULD BE TOUCHED WITH THE FEELING OF OUR INFIRMITIES." They, as they faced the grim contingency of Death, could know that He also had "PARTAKEN OF THE SAME." They, as they girded themselves to run the race of Faith, were to do so "LOOKING UNTO JESUS THE AUTHOR AND PERFECTER OF FAITH." In all this insistence on the complete and representative humanity of JESUS, the sacred Author outpasses the strait limits of his argument from the Jewish Law, and builds his teaching on the broad foundations of human experience and human need. Not merely of the Law of Jewish Ordinances, but of the great Covenant of Human Life do the words hold

true, that "APART FROM SHEDDING OF BLOOD THERE IS NO REMISSION." On the arena of history, in the fortunes of nations, we may discern the evidences of this stern truth. Our religious dogma gives us the key to the movements and tragedies of peoples, as well as uncovers the secrets of personal life. Of nations as of men this is the governing law, that "ALL THINGS ARE CLEANSED WITH BLOOD, AND APART FROM SHEDDING OF BLOOD IS NO REMISSION."

3. See the argument illustrated impressively in the History of Freedom. Has it been easily gained? Has it been easily guarded? The Martyrs of Patriotism have been as numerous and heroic as the Martyrs of Faith, nay, the two classes of Sufferers pass into a single category, for of both it may be said that they "FOUGHT THE GOOD FIGHT," and "THROUGH MANY TRIBULATIONS ENTERED THE KINGDOM." As we review the history of civilized Mankind we can see that there are some nations which play in the grand drama a rôle analogous to that of Martyrs in the record of the Church. They purchase the franchises of Humanity at the price of their own suffering. They may say with the Roman centurion, "WITH A GREAT SUM OBTAINED I THIS CITIZENSHIP"; for their liberties have been

dearly won at the sword's point. Of ancient Greece, of Judæa in the time of the MACCABEES, of medieval Switzerland, Scotland, and the Netherlands, of England and Holland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of Servia and Belgium to-day, it may be said that they stood in the van of the great conflict for Liberty, and "ACCOUNTED THE REPROACH OF CHRIST GREATER RICHES THAN THE TREASURES OF EGYPT." Looking back we can see how their sufferings and conflicts were gaining for Mankind its noblest heritage; and we give them place of honour in the record of human progress.

4. Consider the case of Belgium. In rude feudal ages the first homes of social freedom in Northern Europe, and the earliest nurseries of those arts and sciences which can only flourish on the soil of liberty, were the cities of the Netherlands, which have become tragically familiar to us during the last few months. Antwerp, Bruges, Liège, Tournai, Ghent, Brussels,—these were so many citadels of civilized order in the midst of reigning barbarism. The visitor to those famous cities marvels still at the surviving monuments of their former power and culture, and confesses the dynamic force of that passion for liberty which enabled the burghers to hold their own against the monarchs and nobles of

feudal Europe. In future days those monuments, grievously mutilated by the wanton outrage of German warfare, will by their very mutilations attest yet another and even more strenuous conflict for Freedom. And it will be a final conflict. The Belgians are creating a stronger guarantee for their liberties than any which the friendly diplomacy of Europe can create. I may apply to the present situation some words which MOTLEY wrote with reference to an earlier phase of the age-long conflict for liberty which has sanctified the flat soil of Belgium :

Dignified documents, state papers, solemn treaties are often of no more value than the lambskin on which they are engrossed. Ten thousand nameless victims in the cause of religious and civil freedom may build up great states and alter the aspect of whole continents.

Nay, there is no other adequate security, no gentler method, for "APART FROM SHEDDING OF BLOOD IS NO REMISSION."

5. It is difficult to overstate the service which the Belgian People has rendered to Mankind in general, and to Great Britain in particular. As the whole circumstances of this unparalleled War become more generally known, it is seen ever more clearly that Mankind itself is attacked in its most vital interests

by the policy and procedure of the German Empire. The diplomatic doctrine of Berlin implies the categorical repudiation of the prime condition of civilized life—international good-faith; and it threatens the destruction of the most hopeful efforts yet made to abate the passions and restrict the empire of aggressive ambition. That the civilized Powers should agree together to place outside the arena of their conflicts, diplomatic and military, those smaller States which have survived from the Past, is a fact of almost infinite promise. Why should not the territory thus ransomed from the peril of War be constantly extended by further international agreements, until the debatable land grows less and less, and the possibility of universal Peace marches across the frontiers of aspiration to the firm ground of achievement? Everything is possible to Faith and Good Faith. The German doctrine that no binding force inheres in treaties, that the Great Powers are free to repudiate their own undertakings whenever their selfish interests seem to call for such perfidy, strikes at the root of all these just and reasonable hopes, and chains Mankind again within an infernal circle of hatred and violence. By resisting the German Aggression, and making her solemn appeal to the treaties

which guaranteed her independence, Belgium waked the civilized conscience ; and by sustaining the extreme miseries which have since befallen her land and people, Belgium has kindled the sleeping passion for Justice and Freedom, which not even the deadening effects of modern commercialism and luxury have been able wholly to destroy. Germany finds herself to-day at war with the civilized World. She has to sustain not only the military and naval power of her Allied Enemies, but the deep continuing resentment of the non-combatant Powers of Europe and America. The day draws on when that moral condemnation will be vehemently echoed from within Germany itself. It is possible, said ABRAHAM LINCOLN, in a famous utterance, "to fool some of the people all the time, and all the people some of the time ; but you cannot fool all the people all the time." The German Government will have to learn by bitter experience the truth of the great President's words. In the wake of disaster will come to the German People that knowledge of the facts which hitherto has been jealously kept from them ; and as that fatal knowledge spreads, it will waken in German minds an immense anguish and a fierce indignation. For Germany has not been ■ member of Christendom for nothing ; and this

monstrous aberration of mind and conscience cannot survive the sophistries which created it. The multitudes of young German lives, poured out with cynical prodigality on the stricken fields East and West, will not have perished in vain. Their Blood, so willingly offered in valorous battle, shall be charged with redemptive virtue. A new and a better Germany shall arise, humbled yet exalted by these terrible experiences. "APART FROM THE SHEDDING OF BLOOD IS NO REMISSION." There is "A PLACE OF REPENTANCE" for Nations also, and they too are saved by their woes. "BEFORE I WAS TROUBLED I WENT WRONG, BUT NOW HAVE I KEPT THY WORD."

6. I said that BELGIUM had in special measure laid GREAT BRITAIN under obligation. There can no longer be any room for doubt as to the true objective of the German Aggression. BELGIUM was but the half-way house to BRITAIN. The conquest of FRANCE was but the first stage of the conquest of BRITAIN. Our people were very slow to realize their danger. Far-sighted patriots like LORD ROBERTS were too little heeded, and the crisis broke on us when we were but half-ready. We owe it to Belgian valour that time was given us to get into battle array. When the War is over,

and we look back on our terrible experiences, we shall see that, in the first and most critical phase of the conflict, Belgium saved us.

7. Yes ; but at what a cost ! Within the brief space of a few months one of the most populous, wealthy, and highly cultivated districts of Europe has been reduced to desolation. Literally, millions of people who were justly reckoned among the most fortunate and prosperous of civilized Europeans have been brought into the extremes of distress. Many of them are exiles, bereft of every possession, wandering in strange lands seeking from the bounty of foreigners the necessaries of life. Many more are still on the soil of Belgium, either clinging to their shattered homes, or gathered into the nearest available shelters, looking forward with despair to the future, and watching with helpless rage the confiscation of their resources by the stony-hearted foe. The small extent of Belgium was so highly cultivated, and formed the centre of such vigorous manufacturing industry, that it sustained a population of no less than seven and a half million souls. Of that great multitude at least one-fifth—1,500,000 souls—is menaced with actual destitution, and unless the compassion of Mankind is able to frame and carry into effect some vast enterprise of

charity, the coming spring will witness the most appalling famine it is possible to imagine—a famine deliberately created by the cruelty of the German invader, and inflicted on innocent non-combatants, who, by the established usage of civilized warfare, should have been exempt from attack.

8. To these hideous cruelties the German Invader has added the most wounding injuries. The cities of Belgium are treasures of medieval art. Everywhere the civic prosperity has expressed itself in noble architecture, both municipal and ecclesiastical, in well-built cities, in galleries filled with master-pieces of painting and sculpture, in libraries rich in manuscripts and books. Civilized mankind has long perceived that such things are of more than local significance and more than temporary value. There is a solidarity of civilized nations which expresses itself in common standards of taste and common methods of life. The German invader, drunken with his nationalist ambition, has fallen back from the plane of civilization, and returned to the lower levels of barbarism. War has been suddenly stripped of those accompaniments of chivalry and compassion which have been bound about it by the sentiment of Christendom, and have half-redeemed it from its intrinsic savagery. We

have beheld with amazement and consternation the scientific weapons of the twentieth century united with the savage morals of the fifth. The modern world has found its ATTILA from within itself, not, as ancient Rome, from barbarians without the pale. This fearful apostasy from the tradition of Christendom has revealed itself in naked horror on the soil of BELGIUM. Is it possible to conceive of a harsher fate, or to frame a more pathetically persuasive appeal?

9. I have seized the rare opportunity of a Sermon in this place, dear to me by so many memories, in order to bring again into the foreground of your mental outlook the sorrows and claims of BELGIUM, and I have done this because it seems to me that there is some danger that as time passes, and the course of the vast conflict brings ever new and absorbing subjects for thought, the case of BELGIUM, and the primary obligations which arise therefrom, may recede from the paramount place which they should properly hold in our minds. No Peace could be honourable, and therefore, I trust, none could be made, which did not secure, as its first condition, the complete restoration of BELGIUM to freedom and security. Until the invader has evacuated Belgian soil, and pledged himself to make

such recompense as can be made to the Belgian people, there can be no rightful Peace. Other matters may be debated by the diplomatists; the righting of BELGIUM is the condition on which alone diplomacy can proceed. Even the horrors of War must not blind us to the purpose of our Warfare. "Not Peace, but Right, is the proper aim of War," wrote DR. MARTINEAU finely; "not the negative boon of order without conflict, but the positive establishment of a just equilibrium of relations. Peace, no doubt, attends on justice, but cannot be its end, because freely sacrificed on its behalf."¹ Until BELGIUM is righted, there can be no peace, because there can be no justice. Even apart from this governing consideration, we could not suffer the claim of BELGIUM to fall into the background. For truly we are deeply bound to the BELGIANS in the article of political obligation. We have been their beneficiaries before we could be their benefactors. Our own Liberties were at stake in the conflict which they endured; and the strokes which have fallen with such ruthless violence on their fatherland were aimed at ours.

"APART FROM THE SHEDDING OF BLOOD IS NO REMISSION"—that stern mysterious Law, which links together Suffering and Redemption, will surely

¹ Vide *Essays*, i. 429.

control this immense calamity of Christendom. From the ruins of the Europe which we have known there shall arise a better Europe, freed by its sorrows from its worst features. So many brave lives cannot have been offered in vain ; so many tender hearts broken, for nothing ; so many budding hopes blasted, without result. Is it an unwarrantable straining of the Apostle's language to apply it to the case of these countless sufferers, upon whom the stroke has fallen, to say that they, unknowing and unsuspecting the fact, are "FILLING UP ON THEIR PART THAT WHICH IS LACKING OF THE AFFLICTIONS OF CHRIST"? May we not seek on Calvary the key to their innocent sorrows? May we not see in them the purchase-money paid down for the redemption of Mankind? I think we may do this ; and through all the miseries of this dreadful time, believe that the ALL-RIGHTEOUS GOD is effecting the triumph of His Holy Purpose. Our sins, our obstinate blindness, our endless follies, cannot defeat His Will. "HIS WAY IS ON THE SEA, AND HIS PATHS ON THE DEEP WATERS, AND HIS FOOTSTEPS ARE NOT KNOWN." At least we know what is His claim on us, and what is our duty : long ages ago the Prophet declared it, and the echo of the message is for ever renewed in our hearts : "HE HATH SHOWED THEE,

O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD: AND WHAT DOETH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO LOVE MERCY, AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD." There is the whole duty of Man summed up in a sentence. His Mercy must prompt and enable ours. Be sure this pageant of human Misery lies heavy on the Heart of God, for God is Love :

Never a sigh of passion or of pity,
Never a wail for weakness or for wrong,
Has not its archive in the angels' city,
Finds not its echo in the endless song.

For the moment, the heavens are darkened by the smoke of battle, and, as on Calvary, it is SATAN'S hour ; but the end is not yet.

"THE FOOLISHNESS OF GOD IS WISER THAN MEN ; AND THE WEAKNESS OF GOD IS STRONGER THAN MEN."

XV

THE TRIUMPH OF EASTER¹

THANKS BE TO GOD, WHICH GIVETH US THE VICTORY THROUGH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.—*I Corinthians xv. 57.*

I. JESUS CHRIST stands in the record of mankind as the embodiment of an ideal which has often visited the minds of men, and is always being challenged by their practice. The general agreement of civilized thinkers accords to Him the moral primacy of the human race, but the cynical wisdom of the world is contemptuous of His practical success. A bright vision, they say of His Gospel, a fair dream, but as a serious scheme of human duty, to be proposed to men as the rule of their action in such a world as this, it is grotesquely impractical. The Sermon on the Mount may pass as a satire on human behaviour, as we see it, but as a practical appeal to men to alter that behaviour, and to accept

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on Easter Day, April 4, 1915, at the Eucharist.

instead the paradoxes which it proposes, the Sermon on the Mount must be cast aside to the crowded cemetery of visions that have failed and ideals that have perished. It is precisely the unique greatness of the morality which JESUS CHRIST embodied, and ever symbolizes, that gives to His personal fortunes an interest so unfailing and an importance so unequalled. His Life on earth was admittedly governed by the morality which He proclaimed. He did, what no other moralist has succeeded in doing,—so order His own conduct that His Example became, and was felt to be, the practical illustration of His theory. Do men say that it is impossible for such men as we are to obey the difficult precept, "LOVE YOUR ENEMIES"? They must at least acknowledge that the Teacher, from whose lips that precept comes, did meet the foulest wrongs of His own enemies with the sublime prayer, "FATHER, FORGIVE THEM, FOR THEY KNOW NOT WHAT THEY DO." There have been many moral teachers, but only of JESUS CHRIST can it be said, that His Example was the perfect expression of His Teaching, and that His Teaching was the loftiest known to mankind. Accordingly, His personal fortunes have a critical importance, as bearing directly on the urgent and anxious question, Whether such a morality as He

taught, and practised, is really practical? Has it behind it the dynamic force of Truth? or is it no more than the essay of a high but unbalanced spirit? Does it carry the promise of final triumph? or is it predestined to utter disillusionment? If, following the imperious mandate of our own consciences, we make the attempt to adopt for our own the conception of human duty which the Gospel discloses, and the Life of JESUS CHRIST illustrates, must we know in advance that our effort will fail? or may we dare to believe that, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, our final victory is certain? These questions will serve to indicate the nature of the interests concerned in the personal fortunes of JESUS CHRIST, and at the same time, as we propose them on Easter Day, we perceive the reason why Christians from the first fastened on the Resurrection of their crucified MASTER as the rock of their Faith and the unfailing spring of their Hope. "IF IN THIS LIFE ONLY WE HAVE HOPED IN CHRIST," writes ST. PAUL, "WE ARE OF ALL MEN MOST PITIABLE." We have given our hearts to an ideal which will fail us; we have tried to order our lives on a belief which has no validity. "BUT THANKS BE TO GOD, WHICH GIVETH US THE VICTORY THROUGH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST."

His Triumph over the massed powers of evil is the sure pledge of ours. His failure on Calvary was but a transient and deceiving episode, destined to be quickly followed by His final victory on Easter day. Death with all its most abhorrent accompaniments—public shame, extreme and lingering anguish, every hurtful suggestion of human cruelty and ingratitude—failed to maintain its empire over the SON OF MAN. “NOW HATH CHRIST BEEN RAISED FROM THE DEAD, THE FIRSTFRUITS OF THEM THAT ARE ASLEEP.” His triumph is representative, as was His defeat. A new light shines from the Gospel of His Resurrection upon human history, and gives the key to the enigma of human martyrdom. We understand now that those who stood for goodness on the earth were in the line of His Life, Death, and Rising to Life again. He is “THE FIRSTBORN OF MANY BRETHREN,” and His victory is but the prelude of theirs. “BUT EACH IN HIS OWN ORDER: CHRIST THE FIRSTFRUITS; THEN THEY THAT ARE CHRIST’S, AT HIS COMING. THEN COMETH THE END, WHEN HE SHALL DELIVER UP THE KINGDOM TO GOD, EVEN THE FATHER; WHEN HE SHALL HAVE ABOLISHED ALL RULE AND ALL AUTHORITY AND POWER. FOR HE MUST REIGN, TILL HE HATH PUT ALL HIS ENEMIES

UNDER HIS FEET. THE LAST ENEMY THAT SHALL BE ABOLISHED IS DEATH." ST. PAUL sees the whole pageant of historic life in relation to the fact of Easter, and calls us to carry the power of that central and governing verity into our daily lives: "WHEREFORE, MY BELOVED BRETHREN, BE YE STEDFAST, UNMOVEABLE, ALWAYS ABOUNDING IN THE WORK OF THE LORD, FORASMUCH AS YE KNOW THAT YOUR LABOUR IS NOT VAIN IN THE LORD."

2. Death in the view of the authors of the New Testament was more than a physical catastrophe. They clothed it with sombre moral significance. It was, they thought, the baleful consequence of primal transgression, the continuing result of an aboriginal Fall of Man. Their teaching conflicts with the facts as we now perceive them. Death to the modern thinker has a properly natural aspect. It belongs to the cycle of normal experience. We are not built for physical permanence. Our bodies, like the flowers of the field, bud, blossom, bloom, and fall. But we shall be mistaken if we see nothing more in the primitive view than the obvious physiological error. The New Testament writers in assuming the unnaturalness of Death were representative, not merely of their own age and race, but

of humanity itself. Speculations as to the origin of Death have an important place in the folk-lore of many and widely-distributed peoples, and they all presuppose the unnaturalness of Death. It would seem that men have everywhere and always refused to believe that Death can be the fitting end of such a being as man. The fact was ever facing them, and could not be denied. But surely, they thought, it represented some dreadful outrage on nature, some fearful aberration from the rightful course. In spite of the plainest evidence from observation of other animals, and from their own experience, men could not bring themselves to accept Death as properly natural. "The picture thus presented of the desperate refusal of mankind to accept a cardinal condition of existence is one of the most pathetic in the history of the race." That refusal enshrined a sublime truth, which in their circumstances those ancient and simple-minded thinkers could not perceive. They were groping for, feeling after, stumbling towards, the truth on which Christendom stands, and which on Easter Day the Christian Church proclaims—that Life, not Death, is the destiny of Man; that Death is but an episode of existence, the Gate to Life.

3. The sacred writers conceive of the Life which

persists through the crisis of Death as the reward of moral effort and conflict. Man has the potency of resurrection, but that potency must be transformed into possession in the testing experiences of his earthly life. The crude simplicity of the ascetical antithesis between flesh and spirit is, in the Christian scheme, replaced by a more complicated conception. Eternal life is a present possession of the believer: his body shares in the victory over death, and in some way which we can scarcely imagine survives the process of dissolution. The integrity of personal life demands such an organ of self-expression as may match the spirit's needs in the novel and larger existence, to which Death is the introduction.

“IF THERE IS A NATURAL BODY, THERE IS ALSO A SPIRITUAL BODY.” The analogy of Nature is boldly drawn upon to assist the argument, and few will deny that it is, up to a point, illuminating and helpful. It does not carry the whole contention, but it meets some difficulties which obstruct belief. The two points of the analogy on which the Apostle insists are the continuity, and the difference, of life beyond the veil. Life preserves identity, yet in forms startlingly dissimilar, as the harvest which conforms inexorably to the type of the seed, yet marvellously transcends it. Accordingly, the life

on earth must be congruous with the life hereafter. The Resurrection must stand towards the life on earth as its natural development, and therefore its true vindication. On this solemn and infinitely suggestive truth the Apostle builds the most earnest moral appeal: "BE NOT DECEIVED; GOD IS NOT MOCKED: FOR WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH, THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP. FOR HE THAT SOWETH UNTO HIS OWN FLESH SHALL OF THE FLESH REAP CORRUPTION; BUT HE THAT SOWETH UNTO THE SPIRIT SHALL OF THE SPIRIT REAP ETERNAL LIFE."

4. The Gospel of the Resurrection is far more than the assurance of Life beyond the Grave. It is the Seal of God on the kind of human life which is immortal, the Divine authentication of the moral ideal embodied in JESUS CHRIST. Resurrection, we must remember, was by no means an unfamiliar idea to the ancient world. In Egypt it had long been a prominent part of the established religion; and it is noteworthy that among the Egyptians conversion seems to have had but little effect on the burial customs of the people. For centuries the Christians of Egypt continued to embalm their dead as their ancestors had done from time immemorial. The notion of Resurrection was scarcely separable from

that of Judgment, and in point of fact we know that the higher religions of antiquity included the belief that men's actions would be brought to account before the Divine Judgment-Seat. But there was nothing in the ancient religions which corresponded with the Christian belief in One Who had Himself provided the standard by which human lives must be tried, and had been Himself "ORDAINED TO JUDGE THE WORLD IN RIGHTEOUSNESS." There was, indeed, much blank materialism in the ancient world, and it goes far to explain the strange hopelessness which marks much of the classic literature ; but the worst feature of ancient religion was, less its lack of belief in the life after death, than its failure to connect its faith in goodness with the immortality for which it yearned. JESUS CHRIST was, to use the sublimely simple summary of the Gospel, "THE WAY, THE TRUTH, AND THE LIFE" to His disciples. In the combination of the characters lay the power of the Religion.

5. Christianity, we know, was not the only religion which appealed to men with the promise of purification from sin and everlasting life. It belonged to a type of universal religion which, in the age which witnessed its dramatic triumph, had other and popular representatives. The Religions

of Isis and Mithras seemed at one time destined to secure universal acceptance. Yet, in spite of many advantages, they succumbed to the Religion which, with the dubious credentials of a Jewish origin and an illiterate clientèle, marched in the brief period of three centuries from universal obloquy to the imperial throne. What was the secret of victory which the Church possessed? What could it offer to men which the imposing systems of Egypt and Syria could not offer? The answer lies on the surface of the history. Christianity alone possessed as its Founder an historical Person, with a biography relatively recent and easily accessible, Who had not only risen from the dead, but was acknowledged as the model of human living; Whose Resurrection therefore was seen to authenticate a morality for this life, as well as to authorize a hope for the life to come. Faith and Duty met in the Person of JESUS CHRIST. Men were called to follow Him whom they worshipped. Isis and Mithras were but the creatures of pious fancy, the offspring of the irrepressible hopes of mankind. Not history but popular mythology lay behind their creeds. Such phantasmal SAVIOURS could not really move men to trust and love, or provide an example by which they could determine their conduct. Behind their

imposing mysteries of purification and immortality there was no Gospel of the SON OF MAN Who "WENT ABOUT DOING GOOD, FOR GOD WAS WITH HIM," and Who crowned a Life of service by a Death of magnanimous Self-sacrifice.

6. One of the most suggestive pieces of ancient literature, and perhaps not the least pathetic, is the letter which the Emperor JULIAN addressed to the pagan priests, of whom, as Supreme Pontiff, he was the official chief. He had devoted himself with a noble ardour and an unflinching courage to the desperate task of bringing back the populations of the Roman Empire to the worship of the discarded pagan deities. After years of effort he began to perceive the reasons of his failure. He saw that the real and incurable weakness of Paganism was its low standard of morality. So long as men observed in the disciples of JESUS CHRIST a purer manner of life, a higher type of citizenship, a larger philanthropy, nothing would be able to hold them back from transferring their allegiance to Christianity. Accordingly, JULIAN addresses the priests on this point, urging them to emulate their rivals in those respects in which their superiority was indisputable :

"We must pay especial attention to this point," he writes, "and by this means effect a cure. For when it came about

that the poor were neglected and overlooked by the priests, then I think the impious Galilæans observed this fact and devoted themselves to philanthropy. And they have gained ascendancy in the worst of their deeds through the credit they win for such practices."

It was all in vain. There was no adequate motive in Paganism: there was no inspiring Example: there was no enabling Grace. JULIAN'S effort to restore the Pagan Religion ended in complete failure.

7. The thoughts which I have tried to express are surely not inappropriate to the circumstances in which we have assembled for our Easter worship. They carry a message of comfort to those to whom the general affliction has come more nearly home in desolating bereavement. Often, during the last few months, as we have read the casualty lists with sinking hearts, noting the names of those on land and sea who have been swept from us by the ruthless stroke of War, the question has proposed itself with cruel insistence, Is it worth while? The whole tragedy of the sacrifice of so many lives, bright with early promise, richly freighted with loves and hopes, has pressed on our minds with horror unrelieved and an overwhelming weight. The light fails in the sky, and we move in a darkness that

may be felt. Then we remember why it was they went to fight, and came to their harsh and sudden fate in trench, or stricken field, or hospital. The call came with dramatic suddenness for a conflict with mighty and conquering Wrong, for large venture of life and limb, for valorous battle, for self-dedication to God and the Right. It came to them as nothing less, waking in their responsive minds a passion of chivalrous courage, so pure and spontaneous that we to whom that message might not come could but confess, as the old priest of Hebrew story, that "THE LORD HAD CALLED." We saw their action, we could not but see it, in the Light of the Self-sacrifice which shines for ever from the hill of Calvary; and we see their fate to-day in the revealing glory of Easter. They cast their all, aye, "themselves, their souls and bodies," on the Altar of God, to be consumed in its saving fires, and we know that the sacrifice is accepted, and their service crowned with victory. "RIGHT DEAR IN THE SIGHT OF THE LORD IS THE DEATH OF HIS SAINTS." From these crowded graves beyond the sea, where lie our Sons, there shall stream into the world's life salutary and saving graces, "THE POWERS OF THE AGE TO COME," and generations yet unborn shall reverence and bless them. And

we may bring their names into our solemn Easter Eucharist, and thank God that, when He called, they were ready to answer: "THANKS BE TO GOD, WHICH GIVETH US THE VICTORY THROUGH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST."

XVI

THE KINGSHIP OF JESUS¹

ART THOU A KING THEN?—*St. John xviii. 37.*

THESE ALL ACT CONTRARY TO THE DECREES OF CÆSAR, SAYING THAT THERE IS ANOTHER KING, ONE JESUS.—*Acts xvii. 7.*

THE KINGDOM OF THE WORLD IS BECOME THE KINGDOM OF OUR LORD, AND OF HIS CHRIST.—*Revelation xi. 15.*

i. VOICES from the past, from the continuing present, from the yet distant future,—voices of scornful scepticism, of active hostility, of complete and assured triumph,—voices from the ancient world into which He came, from the modern world in which He fights at the head of His soldiers, from the world that is to be when He shall reign in final and never-ceasing victory,—these are uttered in the three notable passages from the Gospel, the Acts, and the Apocalypse which combine to form my text. To-day we have been again called to bring the War, with its cruel sorrows and insistent

¹ Preached in Westminster Abbey on the first Sunday after Trinity, June 6, 1915, in the evening.

perils, into our public worship, in order that we may "MAKE OUR REQUESTS KNOWN UNTO GOD," with reverent confidence that "HIS EARS ARE OPEN TO OUR PRAYERS." You will not judge it unfitting, therefore, that I should draw your thoughts again to that solemn and well-nigh inevitable theme.

I ask you to see it in connexion with the Fact, which it might at first sight seem to disprove, and which none the less our Religion affirms, and our hearts attest, that Fact that "THE LORD IS IN HIS HOLY TEMPLE, BE THE PEOPLE NEVER SO IMPATIENT: HE SITTETH BETWEEN THE CHERUBIMS, BE THE EARTH NEVER SO UNQUIET." The three passages I have read to you will bring that vital and consoling truth before us very suggestively. Let us consider them separately and in order.

2. "ART THOU A KING THEN?"—so asked the Roman Governor in wondering, possibly pitying, incredulity, though surely not unmixed with contempt for such practical folly as the notion suggested, of the strangest prisoner that ever stood for judgment before the tribunal of a Roman magistrate. We remember that the Jewish hierarchy had preferred their accusation in that form. We read in ST. LUKE'S Gospel that, when the Priests brought JESUS before PILATE, they "BEGAN TO

ACCUSE HIM, SAYING, WE FOUND THIS MAN PERVERTING OUR NATION, AND FORBIDDING TO GIVE TRIBUTE TO CÆSAR, AND SAYING THAT HE HIMSELF IS CHRIST A KING." The force of their accusation turned on a confusion of language. "Kingship" could only mean one thing to a Roman Governor, and to lay claim to it could only mean the crime of treason. To the ordinary Jew, to whom the writings of the Prophets were familiar, "Kingship" meant something more; but even he could hardly have defined his notion in such wise as to separate it from a treasonable suggestion in the view of a Roman magistrate. Besides, his definition would necessarily be read with the commentary provided by the turbulent Messianism which was always taking up arms against the Roman Government. The High Priests knew that they could count on this inevitable misconception in PILATE'S mind, and they did not scruple to take advantage of it. For JESUS had claimed to be a King, and had habitually spoken of His Kingdom, and taught His disciples to regard themselves as subjects thereof. Accordingly, when the Roman Governor challenged the Accused directly on the point, he could only be met by an admission and an explanation. "PILATE SAID UNTO HIM, ART THOU

A KING THEN? JESUS ANSWERED, THOU SAYEST THAT I AM A KING. TO THIS END HAVE I BEEN BORN, AND TO THIS END AM I COME INTO THE WORLD, THAT I SHOULD BEAR WITNESS UNTO THE TRUTH. EVERY ONE THAT IS OF THE TRUTH HEARETH MY VOICE." Not only does the LORD admit and explain His Kingship, but He claims PILATE as properly His subject. He makes appeal to the Truth in him, that is, to the sense of Justice, which could not but make clear to him the wickedness of the persecution which the High Priests were engaged upon. PILATE'S conscience responded to that Appeal, and affirmed its validity, but PILATE had neither resolution nor courage. He replied in scorn or sadness, "WHAT IS TRUTH?", went through the pathetic fiction of "WASHING HIS HANDS," in order, if he could, to throw the responsibility of the crime he was about to commit on those who coerced him into it, and then delivered JESUS to the Cross. The Kingship of JESUS was mockingly paraded in the superscription which PILATE wrote, and set above the Cross: "THIS IS JESUS, THE KING OF THE JEWS." He relieved his own self-contempt by a sarcasm on his conquerors, and he was at the pains of making sure that they understood it. "IT WAS WRITTEN IN HEBREW, AND IN

LATIN, AND IN GREEK." Turn now from the ancient world which met the claim of Kingship with the Cross, to the modern world which met the affirmation of that claim with violence.

3. A few years have passed since the Cross was set up on Calvary, and in a strange and distant land men are found to be earnestly affirming the Kingship of the CRUCIFIED. Not now in Asia, but in Europe (for the Apostolic Preachers have passed from the historic sphere of ancient history to the historic sphere of modern history, a momentous and infinitely significant transition), Roman magistrates again have to consider the claim of JESUS to be a King. In Thessalonica PAUL had delivered his message, and with such effect that the Jews became alarmed, and stirred up the fanatical mob against him. Failing to discover the Apostle and his immediate followers, the crowd vented their anger on the ruler of the synagogue, whom they supposed to have treated the preachers with suspicious sympathy: "THEY DRAGGED JASON AND CERTAIN BRETHREN BEFORE THE RULERS OF THE CITY, CRYING, THESE THAT HAVE TURNED THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN ARE COME HITHER ALSO; WHOM JASON HATH RECEIVED: AND THESE ALL ACT CONTRARY TO THE DECREES OF CÆSAR,

SAYING THAT THERE IS ANOTHER KING, ONE JESUS." Similar occurrences took place at CORINTH, but there the Roman Magistrate GALLIO was a stronger man than PILATE, and refused to be deceived by the ambiguous accusation preferred against the Christian Preachers. They might use what language they would, but quite evidently these men were no dangerous traitors to CÆSAR. So "HE DRAVE THE ACCUSING JEWS FROM THE JUDGMENT-SEAT." Yet the accusers of ST. PAUL, though manifestly wrong in their actual accusations, were not mistaken in thinking that the doctrine which he was preaching with such ardour and success was really incompatible with the principles on which the government of the CÆSARS, and the system of society which the CÆSARS symbolized, necessarily stood. ST. PAUL, himself a Roman citizen, might generously ignore all but the noble features of the imperial system, and imagine that it might be effectively subjugated to the service of the Kingdom which he proclaimed; but time would show that there could not really be any natural or lasting harmony between an ordering of society which was based on physical force, and an ordering of society which was based on moral rightness. The ancient system of social and political life was

rooted in false notions of God, of human nature, and of human destiny ; and therefore it could not hold its ground against that Religion which proclaimed the Truth, and by means of the Truth made men free. The conflict between the two sets of principles, the two ideals of society, the two versions of God and Man, has proceeded ever since the Christian Religion began its historic course. Often, indeed, the nature of that conflict has been misconceived, sometimes so utterly that an almost complete divorce has been effected between the Name and the Cause of Christianity. The conflict has been identified with the strife of Empires and Churches, and great secular interests have passed under sacred descriptions. Some of the most selfish and wicked wars of modern history have been represented as Crusades ; and no wider departures from the principles of the Gospel have been seen on earth than those which could plead religious authorization. Thus the history of Christianity has been a history of paradox, and often the shadows have seemed to blot out the light. It is only when we refuse resolutely to accept any conventional description of the Holy War, and insist on recognizing the principles of JESUS, in whatever expression they may receive, that we can perceive a movement of progress

through the ages, and can draw from our reading of Christian History, not despondency, but hope and courage.

4. At this terrible crisis in the fortunes of Mankind, the war of principles which finds expression in the conflict of the nations is hard to bring within conventional descriptions. Christianity is certainly at stake, yet the struggle is between Christian peoples, and the conflicting armies on both sides are encouraged to invoke the Blessing of CHRIST on their warfare. Churches are divided: this is no War of Religion in the obvious sense of the term. Nevertheless, I incline to think that in all the centuries there never was a war which better deserved the description, if, indeed, the essence of Religion be not concerned with the interest of Churches, but with the very principles of human intercourse. Give me leave to develop the argument.

5. The essence of Religion, as Christians must needs understand it, is moral, underlying men's conduct, determining therefore the very principles of human intercourse. Now within the sphere of civilization, as we are accustomed to apply the term, those principles are properly Christian. Doubtfully discerned often, haltingly recognized

always, yet distinctly apprehended and, wherever apprehended, approved by the popular conscience of our modern world, those fundamental principles are beyond all question connected, as harvest is linked to sowing, with the Life and Teaching of JESUS. Slowly, and with many interludes of repudiation, the World, in which Christianity has worked, has been moving forward to a deliberate and ever completer application of the Life-giving Gospel to human life. Slowly there has grown up during the last nineteen centuries a body of principles, or assumptions, or implicit understandings—call them what you will—which are integral to our conception of Civilization, and indeed form its essence. These are so plainly required by Christianity as a system of social life, that the historic description of the modern civilized world as “Christendom,” is not so much legitimate, as inevitable. It is precisely this body of principles, assumptions, or implicit understandings, which is directly challenged by the diplomacy and warfare of modern Germany. The Kingship of JESUS is as really repudiated by the diplomacy which treated a solemn international covenant as “a piece of paper” to be thrown into the fire when inconvenient, and by the warfare which filled the

cities and villages of BELGIUM, FRANCE, and POLAND with nameless atrocities, and sank the *Lusitania* with her precious freight of non-combatants, as ever by the pagan emperors, NERO, or DOMITIAN, or DECIUS, or DIOCLETIAN, who tortured and killed the Christian Martyrs.

6. It is of course the case that Germany is professedly Christian, and historically forms part of Western Christendom ; and these facts challenge explanation. How is it, we must needs ask, that from within the circle of Christian nations this fearful repudiation of CHRIST'S Kingship has proceeded ? Three considerations, perhaps, will go some way towards providing the answer. In the first place, it is only with certain important reservations that Prussia, which now determines both the policy and the military procedure of the German Empire, can be called either Christian or civilized. For Prussia never really went through the school of Christian Civilization.¹ Neither the Roman Empire, nor the Medieval Church (the two grand agents through which Europe received its civiliza-

¹ *Vide* HARDWICK, *Ch. Hist. Middle Ages*, pp. 214-16. The Teutonic Order was founded at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and carried on a crusade for fifty years before the country was even superficially Christian. "In the course of these revolting wars (1230-1283) . . . the land was well-nigh spoiled of its inhabitants."

tion), had the handling of those Pagan tribes, Teutonic and Slavonic, which were the ancestors of the modern Prussians. Christianity has never had a fair chance in Prussia. Before the Reformation the people were mainly pagan ; since the Reformation they have been almost constantly subject to the hardship and degradation of wars, religious and dynastic. The mighty fabric of German Kultur is of very recent growth, and can hardly be traced back beyond the Napoleonic era. We must recognize that civilization in the true sense of the word cannot be so hastily improvised ; that the culture of human nature is the achievement, not of years, but of centuries ; that a mighty parade of the external symbols and instruments of civilization may consist, and in Prussia does consist, with an interior and essential barbarism. The Prussian fights with scientific weapons, but in the spirit of his savage forefathers. Even his Christianity has not yet shaken off the impress of barbaric ideas. God for him is less the ALL-RIGHTEOUS, ALL-LOVING FATHER revealed by JESUS CHRIST, Whose Holy Spirit dwells and works in the hearts of good men, than the LORD OF HOSTS, Prussia's tribal god, and the genius of the reigning dynasty.

7. In the next place, the military system of Prussia has not merely extended the army until it includes the entire manhood of the nation, but also has imposed on the nation its inherited standards of conduct. Thus the vast hosts of Germany wage war in the spirit and by the rules of those professional soldiers of a former time—*lanz-knechts*, *condottieri*, free companies, soldiers of fortune—whose licence and cruelty have left dark stains on the history of every European nation. This extension of the moral standards of a military caste over the drilled manhood of a great nation is one of the most serious and disquieting disclosures of this War. It indicates the real vice of what is called Militarism.

8. Again, we can hardly doubt that we are witnessing in Germany to-day a phenomenon which is not unfamiliar to the student of human history. It is the aberration of the national mind. Obsessed with fear and hatred (the “LYING SPIRITS” of all false policy), plied continually with official falsehoods calculated carefully with a view to stimulating these deplorable tempers, the German People is, for the time being, morally insane. Let the Englishman remember the behaviour of his own forefathers during the Popish Plot in CHARLES II.’s

reign. Let the Frenchman recall the horrors of "the Terror" during the Revolution. Then let both admit that this fearful loss of mental and moral sanity in Germany may consist with the essential soundness of the national character. The time will come—may God in His mercy hasten the day!—when the scales will fall from the eyes of the German People, and they will once more see themselves and their actions in normal and healthy perspectives. Then they will themselves pass judgment on the crimes and follies which are deluging Europe with innocent blood.

9. Turn in conclusion to that Voice from the Future, which is the burden of the third part of my triple text. The Seer of the Apocalypse pictures a grand dénouement of the long drama of history. Again and again the Cause of God has seemed to fail, the powers of a corrupt and persecuting World have seemed to prevail against the servants of JESUS, good men's hearts have broken, and brave men's courage has failed, before a situation which seemed utterly hopeless; but now at last the Hour for God's Triumph has struck, and the vindication of Faith comes with a rush: from above the Great Voices in heaven proclaim the Victory of JESUS: "THE KINGDOM OF THE WORLD

IS BECOME THE KINGDOM OF OUR LORD, AND OF HIS CHRIST: AND HE SHALL REIGN FOR EVER AND EVER." That is a Prophet's Vision, and (for Prophets see farther than other men, and see more truly what they see) it may well cheer us. Prussian paganism, masquerading as German Kultur, is not going to be the "last word" of the Christian civilization of Europe. The stream of fraternity, which has flowed through nineteen centuries, is not destined to fail for ever in the wasted plains of BELGIUM and POLAND. "The economy of Heaven" is dark, and our minds are not able to follow it, but it secures its ends. Not in vain are those young lives being offered up in chivalrous conflict on the stricken fields, East and West. Not in vain are brave women carrying the load of extreme and unmerited sorrows. Stern is the law, yet unfailing in its consequences. "WITHOUT SHEDDING OF BLOOD IS NO REMISSION." In those scenes of death and anguish a new Europe is being born, the nations are being enfranchised, and the coming of CHRIST'S Kingdom is being hastened. Not individual men and women merely, but Humanity itself, is saved by its sorrows. In the future, looking back with tear-cleansed eyes on these fearful experiences, Mankind, sane, civilized,

peaceful, rich with great memories of the Holy War, filled with hope, shall make its own the Psalmist's confession: "BEFORE I WAS TROUBLED I WENT WRONG, BUT NOW HAVE I KEPT THY WORD."

XVII

NEW WINE AND FRESH WINE-SKINS¹

AND NO MAN PUTTETH NEW WINE INTO OLD WINE-SKINS ; ELSE THE NEW WINE WILL BURST THE SKINS, AND ITSELF WILL BE SPILLED, AND THE SKINS WILL PERISH. BUT NEW WINE MUST BE PUT INTO FRESH WINE-SKINS.—*St. Luke v. 37, 38.*

I. IN these familiar words, using a proverb often on the lips of the common people, JESUS CHRIST indicates one of the most certain, and always one of the least welcome, lessons of human experience. That life “never continues in one stay,” but is always in process of change, will be readily conceded ; but that this fact implies for every one of us the uncomfortable necessity of surrendering that which has become sacrosanct with time, and dear by use, is not so readily admitted. A merciful provision of Nature clears the board of every generation in due time, and thus makes sure that the handling of new situations shall pass into hands which have not

¹ Preached in the Temple Church on the first Sunday after Trinity, June 6, 1915, in the morning.

grown irrecoverably into tools and methods which are obsolete. The movement of the world is roughly suited to the rapid passing of successive generations ; and men are for the most part suffered to carry to the grave their prejudices uncorrected and their illusions undispersed. Literature does not contain a more repulsive picture than that of the *Struldbriggs*, into which SWIFT poured all the sombre contempt with which the spectacle of human nature inspired him. Immortal yet nowise exempt from the normal decay of their powers, these hapless creatures robbed death of its horrors by displaying the deeper tragedy of unending life. In a changing world they could not change, and were doomed to an isolation ever more complete.

The language of this country being always upon the flux, the *Struldbriggs* of one age do not understand those of another ; neither are they able after two hundred years to hold any conversation (farther than by a few general words) with their neighbours the mortals ; and thus they lie under the disadvantage of living like foreigners in their own country.

The ebb and flow of human life mitigate the shock of natural change, and the repulsive instability of all terrestrial things is further disguised by the self-deluding skill which stereotypes names, forms,

and phrases, wherewith to cover with a veneer of identity the dissolving phenomena of human society. At intervals, however, this natural process is violently disturbed. The course of events becomes eccentric and calamitous: men are thrown out of their accustomed grooves so suddenly that no merciful fiction can cover or even mitigate the shock of change. They are, as it were, like ships caught by a hurricane, and driven out of all known and charted routes, towards undiscovered lands across strange seas. Such an episode of crisis must have been the fourth century in the Roman Empire, or the eleventh in England, or the sixteenth throughout Western Christendom, or the close of the eighteenth in France. It is impossible for a considering man to doubt that the civilized world is traversing such an episode at the present time. In such times individual men must brace themselves to encounter a situation which has become both insecure and enigmatic, and must determine their course without the assistance of those rules and precedents which serve normally as their guides. Then the homely proverb of the Syrian peasants, which our LORD made the vehicle of His own Teaching, becomes charged with profound and relevant wisdom, and indicates the primary condition of right action: "NO MAN PUTTETH NEW

WINE INTO OLD WINE-SKINS; ELSE THE NEW WINE WILL BURST THE SKINS, AND ITSELF WILL BE SPILLED, AND THE SKINS WILL PERISH. BUT NEW WINE MUST BE PUT INTO FRESH WINE-SKINS." If this view of our situation be just, it cannot be superfluous, and ought not to be unprofitable, to consider what may be the effect of the present War on that supreme interest which we must needs all have at heart, the interest of Religion. How will the War affect the fortunes of Churches? Will the new Europe which will emerge from the immense conflict be more, or less, Christian? May we dare to hope that the long-desired Reunion of Christendom will be the fruit of the bitter conflict of the nations? Will the stern necessity under which we lie of facing again the ultimate problems of human existence, of answering the old questions of human duty and destiny, which may be ignored or hustled deliberately out of mind, but can never be finally silenced, draw us again to the Gospel, or break for ever its hold on us?

2. We are assured by many witnesses of the campaign that among the soldiers at the Front a widespread and impressive religious movement is in process. This is what on *a priori* grounds we should expect, and it appears to have no connexion

with the merits of the conflict, but to be equally apparent in all the contending armies. This new-born religious fervour expresses itself inevitably through the accustomed and familiar instruments. There are none other at hand, and war is no time for improvising creeds and churches. Accordingly, the soldiers appear to be fervidly Roman, Anglican, Presbyterian, Orthodox, Lutheran, Methodist. The spirit is simply religious; the form is frankly conventional. It is natural that the advocates of the several systems should give a denominational significance to the devotion which crowds their services, but none the less they may be mistaken, and probably are so. The mighty and tragical crisis, which has carried so many men out of their prejudices and irreligious habitudes into Religion, draws its strength from no earthly source however venerable. The tide has carried them beyond the ecclesiastical media to the Spiritual Spring itself.

“THE WIND BLOWETH WHERE IT LISTETH, AND THOU HEAREST THE VOICE THEREOF, BUT KNOWEST NOT WHENCE IT COMETH, AND WHITHER IT GOETH: SO IS EVERY ONE THAT IS BORN OF THE SPIRIT.” The dreadful experiences of war have always predisposed men to religion. It is said that many of the officers who served in

the American Civil War subsequently received ordination as Christian ministers; and the severe orthodoxy of retired military and naval officers is a matter of frequent comment among ourselves. The only new factor in the present war is the enormous increase in the numbers concerned. But this new factor is precisely the gravest conceivable. For the most part the wars of the past have affected directly but a fraction of the people. Professional armies were officered by the members of the ruling class, and recruited from the illiterate multitude. But now all is different. The War is on so vast a scale that it is literally true to speak of it as a war not of armies but of armed nations. Every type and condition of citizen are being brought directly into the conflict. Not a number of officers merely, but the entire educated class is being subjected to this searching experiment. The common people, who are filling the ranks of the immense hosts now ranged in conflict, are, in a measure and degree unknown to any former age, informed and intelligent. In a word, the Manhood of the civilized world is being passed through the school of War. What will be the outcome in the national life of the future? How will Christianity come out of the ordeal?

3. In spite of the enthusiastic reports of the chaplains and the clerical visitors to the Front, I do not think that the final result of this immense conflict is going to be favourable to ecclesiastical Christianity as hitherto we have known it, though the immediate consequence may well be a clericalist wave which will seem to vindicate the claims of the Churches. Broadly, two considerations lead me to this conclusion. On the one hand, ecclesiastical Christianity comes so badly out of the European crisis that its services to the highest interests of mankind may well be challenged. On the other hand, religion, disclosed and tested in the fearful experiences of war, is seen to be so plainly independent of denominational limits, that the honest and true spirit in men can hardly again endorse denominational claims. Let me develop these points.

4. We are familiar with cogent and persuasive arguments for an international or Catholic organization of Christianity, which shall emancipate Christians from the bondage of local influences, and provide the world with an organ through which the Mind of CHRIST can be uttered at every crisis. These arguments have a feeble and futile aspect when considered in connexion with the most recent

examples of ecclesiastical action. The mournful lesson of Christian history has received another and most impressive confirmation from the attitude of the Roman Papacy. The Papacy has again been tried, and found wanting. As its claim is the highest, so its shame is the deepest. For, indeed, the Papacy, claiming to be Divinely appointed and infallibly directed, has fallen conspicuously behind the rest of the civilized world in perceiving and repudiating the moral turpitude of German diplomacy and the horrors of German warfare. Let any man be at the pains to compare the halting and ambiguous pronouncements of the Supreme Pontiff with the spontaneous protests of the other Neutrals, and he will find it difficult to resist the belief that the Curse of Meroz will rest on so abject a failure at so grave a crisis. Again the Successor of the Fisherman has made "the great refusal"; again the only Petrine precedent which secures the respect of Rome is the precedent of the Denial!

5. The failure of the German Churches is even more perplexing; not their failure to avert the War, for they had no such direct control of German policy as would make that possible; nor even their failure to withstand the selfish and vainglorious nationalism which made the German policy prac-

ticable, for such failure is too common to be remarkable ; but their failure to manifest any resentment against the wicked perfidy which inaugurated the War, and the infamous cruelties which have marked its conduct. This ignoble silence of the German Churches is as painful as it is perplexing. If it be urged that at least in Great Britain, France, and Russia, the Churches have done their duty, I must confess candidly that I am not greatly impressed by a moral witness, however true, which is shaped and facilitated by an overwhelming public sentiment. Believing, as I do, that the cause of the Allies is essentially righteous, and therefore that their warfare is accordant with the principles of CHRIST, I must needs rejoice that the ecclesiastical authorities are in harmony with popular opinion, but I do not conceal from myself that it would be extremely difficult for them to be anything else. The Quakers seem to me more intelligible, and more morally impressive, when protesting against War under CHARLES II. than when elaborating a casuistry in defence of War under GEORGE V. None the less I disallow the earlier protest, and approve the later casuistry. In fact, as far as the Churches of the Allied Nations are concerned, the crisis has brought no such sudden demand on their moral faithfulness

as the Churches of Germany and Austria have had to meet. We have but moved along the line of least resistance in supporting a conflict which the public conscience emphatically and most rightly had already endorsed. I hope that we should not have played an unworthy part had the situation been reversed; but I am not sure, and the facts do not permit too confident an opinion. The Churches seem rather to have been carried forward by the stream of popular feeling, in the one case to ends which are good, in the other to ends which are appallingly evil. In neither case do they seem to lead, discipline, or control, the public conscience. If the Papacy as a moral witness set above the nations has failed egregiously, it cannot be said that National Churches set within the nations as the symbols and instruments of their highest life have succeeded any better. Ecclesiastical Christianity emerges from the crisis with lowered prestige and compromised reputation. Although, therefore, we may expect to see within the Churches a considerable revival, in the far larger multitudes who stand outside their formal membership, I think there will be less disposition to accept them as legitimate and perhaps necessary exponents of the Religion of CHRIST.

6. While the Churches have fallen in public respect, Christianity has risen. Religion as seen "at the Front" is stripped of a thousand disguises, and shown in its essential elements. Men learn, and unlearn, much in the course of a campaign. They judge men by other standards than those which they have tacitly accepted at home. A new tolerance of the unaccustomed grows in their minds along with a new intolerance of the unreal. Religion is no longer for them an affair of forms, ceremonies, sermons, party newspapers, and platform controversies. They have been carried beyond all such trivialities to the central facts of the spirit. What manner of men are these Christians of so many names and methods? How do they carry themselves in the trenches, on the field of battle, in the desperate moments when brave men are discovered and cowards unmasked; in the hospital, in the delirious moments of victory and of the licence which victory brings and seems to condone; in the stark terrors of disaster, in the final tragedy of death? To that question an answer is being found. The soldiers perceive, underneath a maze of unfamiliar and unintelligible distinctions, a type of manhood, a spiritual outlook, a moral fidelity, a fraternity, which they perforce own to be Christian,

and know to be good. The new standard of judgment gained in the War will be applied presently in time of Peace. Undenominational Christianity, purged at last of its political connexions, will be finally vindicated, and will build religious toleration on a sure foundation. Do you think the Protestant Agitator, whose squalid figure has loomed so largely on Anglican horizons for many a year past, will gain in the future such a hearing as he has gained in the past, from men who have received the tender ministries of French Priests and Nuns in hours of desperate need? Will the Englishmen, of all Churches and of none, who have been sharing together the deepest experiences of their lives, be as tolerant as they were of parties and projects which would dig an impassable gulf between English Churchmen and other Protestants? The necessity of the Episcopate will not be one of the essentials of Religion which the experience of War will have disclosed and authenticated.

7. While thus the minds of many individuals will be affected, profoundly and in the main beneficially, by the experiences of the campaigns, the whole system of the national life will be influenced, and that drastically, by the immense destruction of men's lives, and the vast material wastage of the

War. The political constitution of the country will be recast. Economic changes of the utmost gravity appear to me certain, and these in their turn must bring corresponding changes of social habit. On the duration of the conflict, perhaps, it will depend whether these changes shall proceed to the length of revolution. In any case, our national institutions will be on their trial in a new and terribly urgent sense. Of all our national institutions, perhaps, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND is the most rigid and the least secure. It can hardly be doubted that the close of the Great War will confront English Churchmen, and especially English clergy, with a new and infinitely difficult situation. The "NEW WINE" of a public opinion, that has been exalted, cleansed, and stimulated by the sacrifices and sorrows of the War, will seek "FRESH WINE-SKINS," and in the Church, not less than in the State, the problem of satisfying the demand will tax the wisdom of the wisest and the self-sacrifice of the best. Certain it is, as our LORD warned us, that "NEW WINE MUST BE PUT INTO FRESH WINE-SKINS"; but whether the metaphor can be satisfied by the transformation of an ancient institution, or must necessitate the creation of a new, must be left to the disclosures of the future. Change of substance disguised by

identity of name and form is the method of our constitutional development, and we have no reason to regret it. When the argument concerns religion, there are some important reservations which must govern its application ; but, so conditioned, it is sound. The Christianity of the future cannot be quite as the Christianity of the past. It will perhaps be not less widely dissimilar than were the Christianity of the Reformed Churches and that of the Medieval Church. Such a transformation would stand in the line of many precedents, every one of which has illustrated the LORD'S warning in the text. "NEW WINE" was "PUT INTO FRESH WINE-SKINS" when the enthusiasm of the early believers and their "charismatic" ministries were replaced by the carefully elaborated dogmatic forms and the rigid hierarchical system of the imperial Church ; and when the disordered Churches of Europe were gathered into a single system centred in the medieval Papacy ; and again, when the new vigour of national life expressed itself in the separately organized Churches of the Reformation ; and yet again, when from within these Churches sprang a multitude of new religious associations answering to the manifold developments of individual faith. Now, on every hand, we can see the signs of ecclesiastical obso-

lescence. The denominations quite evidently have lost their religious *raison d'être*, or are in the course of losing it; and, as the War will have made apparent, the general conscience no more finds the organ of its freest expression in the systems which claim to represent the Mind of CHRIST. It must be the case that we are on the eve of another chapter of change, as deep and far-reaching as any which has preceded it.

8. At the present time no man can discern the nature and extent of the changes that are impending, and it were a futile thing to indulge in guesswork. But, at least, we can be well assured that the movement of religion will be forward, not backward, and that this broad certainty will not be affected by interludes of reaction, provoked by the emotions of crisis. Accordingly, we can, and we ought, to settle our minds firmly against every religious and ecclesiastical policy which is merely retrogressive; a turning back to what has been, and is no more; an attempt to recover from the past doctrines and methods which have long ago been outgrown and abandoned. So far at least our way is clear, and something has been gained if we recognize so much. For the rest we must accept, as from the Hand of God, with humility and unwavering faith, the

privation of doctrinal certitude, the burden of a reverent agnosticism with respect to many solemn and infinitely pressing questions, even, for some among us, the sorrowful confusion of insistent and unlifting doubt. Let us labour to cleanse the system of the National Church of everything which is plainly obsolete, misleading, and unreal ; and let us strive to vindicate for every true and earnest Christian a place within it. Above all, let us be very severe with ourselves, guarding against the moral weakness of a merely critical attitude, never forgetting that men are saved by Faith, not by Doubt, pursuing the ideal of a discipleship which is unembarrassed by difficult accommodations, and untainted by mundane ambitions—a discipleship, rich in manifold and willing service, free, fearless, and responsible, into which a man can pour his whole heart, and to which he can gladly consecrate his whole life.

XVIII

THE VISION OF GOD¹

AND THEY SHALL SEE HIS FACE.—*Revelation xxii. 4.*

1. JUST thirty-six years have passed since JOSEPH BARBER LIGHTFOOT was enthroned as Bishop of Durham in the great cathedral on the Wear. On that occasion he was himself the preacher, and he chose for his text the sentence which I have just read to you. He began his sermon by recalling an incident in the last hours of his greatest predecessor. When Bishop BUTLER was at the point of death, he said to his chaplain that it was "an awful thing to appear before the Moral Governor of the world." Bishop LIGHTFOOT found in these words the "dominating idea" of BUTLER'S life. Perhaps it would hardly be less true to say that they expressed the "dominating idea" of his own life also.

2. The question has been raised in connexion

¹ Preached in Westminster Abbey on the seventh Sunday after Trinity, July 25, 1915.

with projects of Prayer Book Revision, whether the Calendar of the Church of England might not fitly be enriched with some additional names; and one name, that of KING CHARLES THE MARTYR, has even obtained the approval of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury. In the frenzied reaction of the Restoration it is intelligible, and even pardonable, that the name of CHARLES I. should have drawn to itself an almost religious veneration, but the calmer judgment of later times has decided, that not even his cruel fate or his personal piety can qualify the Royal Victim of Whitehall for a place among the Saints. If names of modern Christians are to be chosen for public commemoration in the churches, and thus set beside those of the Apostles themselves in the Calendar, they must at least be such as command the general acceptance, and suggest examples of Christian character and life which are plainly edifying. In such a revised Calendar I cannot doubt that the names of the two great Bishops of Durham, JOSEPH BUTLER and JOSEPH BARBER LIGHTFOOT, would have to be included. Those names have no controversial significance now, and even in their lifetime, though both came into controversy, the one with the Deists, the other with the Author of the sceptical work

entitled *Supernatural Religion*, yet their controversial methods were so little controversial, that they did not wake against themselves the resentments which commonly inflame and embitter religious controversies.

3. "THEY SHALL SEE HIS FACE"—the words declare the law, or principle, of the religious life; and they express the sustaining hope by which the Saints are able to "FIGHT THE GOOD FIGHT."

The Vision of God is connected by CHRIST with purity of heart; it is identified by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews with that "FAITH" which he presents as the distinguishing mark of God's true servants. Of MOSES he says that "HE ENDURED AS SEEING HIM WHO IS INVISIBLE"—a richly suggestive expression. In the power of that Vision he was able to turn away from the seductions of Egypt, and to cast in his lot with the people of God, though these were downtrodden and undone. That vision went with him throughout his wonderful career, nerving him in danger, consoling him in disaster, bringing him at last to victory. "HE ENDURED AS SEEING HIM WHO IS INVISIBLE."

4. Perhaps there is no religious word so often used, and so often misused, as this word "FAITH." Sometimes it is degraded into nothing better than

mere credulity, as if God asked of men, as some are reputed to teach, "the sacrifice of the intellect," and placed a spiritual premium on mental indolence. Has the noblest of all the powers with which the CREATOR has endowed our nature no fulness of employment in Religion? Does not the Apostle exhort Christians to "BE READY ALWAYS TO GIVE ANSWER TO EVERY MAN THAT ASKETH YOU A REASON CONCERNING THE HOPE THAT IS IN YOU"? The "FAITH WHICH OVERCOMES THE WORLD" has, indeed, no necessary connexion with formal creeds. These may be quite sound, yet there may be no "FAITH" behind their repetition. ST. JAMES—not the Son of Zebedee, whom we commemorate to-day, but his namesake—conspicuous as a punctiliously orthodox man, felt it necessary to remonstrate against the faithless belief of his religious contemporaries: "THOU BELIEVEST THAT GOD IS ONE; THOU DOEST WELL: THE DEVILS ALSO BELIEVE, AND SHUDDER." Perhaps the worst fault of the Athanasian Creed (which, I may remind you, Bishop LIGHTFOOT desired to remove from compulsory use in our churches as being plainly unedifying) is the support it seems to give to this false view of "FAITH" as properly the same thing as believing something. All the propositions in the

long Creed may be quite true, and a man may dissent from none of them, but his assent may none the less leave him still an unbeliever in the only sense of the word that really matters, because (in spite of his orthodox professions) he has no vision of the unseen GOD. He cannot, with MOSES, "ENDURE AS SEEING HIM WHO IS INVISIBLE." "FAITH," then, is insight and foresight: it sees through the gross veils of phenomena, and sees beyond them. Hence it is the spring of a genuine independence, making a man free from the dominion of his circumstances; and it is a fountain of unfailing courage, giving him always the assurance of God's final victory. "FAITH" makes us know that "THE THINGS WHICH ARE SEEN ARE TEMPORAL, BUT THE THINGS WHICH ARE NOT SEEN ARE ETERNAL." In the ebb and flow of terrestrial fortunes, "FAITH" gives us sure hold on that which changes not. "FAITH" puts us, the frail creatures of a day, into alliance with the everlasting and unalterable Will of GOD. "THE WORLD PASSETH AWAY, AND THE LUST THEREOF: BUT HE THAT DOETH THE WILL OF GOD ABIDETH FOR EVER." "FAITH" says with ST. PAUL, "IF GOD IS FOR US, WHO IS AGAINST US?"

5. Beyond all question this "FAITH" is something very different from that weak credulous temper which is always gaping after prodigies and miracles, and ready to take up with any grovelling superstition. It was when SAUL had turned away from following the counsels of the prophet SAMUEL that he betook himself to the Witch of Endor, and sought the assistance of her necromancy. Not "FAITH," but secret unbelief lies at the root of the eager haste with which many people believe stories of supernatural assistances given to British Soldiers in their distress, like that fiction of the angel-warriors in the retreat from Mons, which has been widely circulated in religious newspapers, and found its way into sermons, yet has nothing better behind it than the *jeu d'esprit* of a journalist. Too often we hear fervid exhortations to prayer which seem to suggest less Christianity than the pagan error which our SAVIOUR rebuked in the Sermon on the Mount. Might not a critic, severe but not unjust, say of many Christians to-day, as he watched their devotions, "THEY THINK THAT THEY SHALL BE HEARD FOR THEIR MUCH SPEAKING"?

6. Bear with me if I press on you the special risk which besets religious people in time of War, when the stereotyped lines of use and wont are

suddenly erased, and all things brought into a bewildering insecurity. No doubt it is the case that there is a new interest in religion manifesting itself in many directions, and that many individuals to whom "THE THINGS OF THE SPIRIT" have hitherto been unintelligible and unwelcome, are receiving through the strain of sore distress a blessed illumination. With this religious revival, however, there have come the old dangers of superstition, and we ought to be vigilant against them. "LOOK THEREFORE CAREFULLY HOW YE WALK, NOT AS UNWISE, BUT AS WISE; REDEEMING THE TIME, BECAUSE THE DAYS ARE EVIL." The Nemesis, which ever dogs the progress of Superstition, is Unbelief, and truly it were well if our religious enthusiasts, especially those of them who are also ecclesiastical leaders, would have some regard to the sceptical reactions which their crude ardours are surely destined to provoke. I borrow from a Cambridge historian some words which describe the ill effect of the Thirty Years' War in Germany on Religion, and I beg you to consider whether, in this respect also, we may not be destined to see History repeating itself:

In the midst of this social chaos religion, in whose name these iniquities were perpetrated, was trampled in

the mire ; but in its place superstition reared its hundred heads unchecked. No doubt, in this case also the age had but entered into a *damnosa hereditas* of previous generations ; but it put out the legacy to multiple usury. Terror, suffering, the loss of all effective spiritual guidance and the absence of all controlling mental discipline, drove the population at large—and first and foremost the soldiers who were the prime agents of the universal unsettlement—headlong into the wildest and most irrational varieties of misbelief. In the earlier years of the war the popular delusions as to witches and witchcraft from time to time demanded their saturnalia of sacrifice ; but, as the conflict went on, men's minds became more and more unhinged by the volume of sufferings which overwhelmed the country ; and though these very sufferings diverted public attention from minor causes, or supposed causes, of trouble and calamity, we hear to the last of wholesale burnings of witches—as if something must be done to balance the account with the author of evil.¹

Early in the present War, I cut out of the *Times* the following statement, which may well be set beside DR. WARD'S account of the Thirty Years' War :

As in Paris, all fortune-tellers are now forbidden to practise throughout the German Empire. Since the War broke out they had been consulted by an enormous number of wives and relatives of soldiers in the field, who wanted to know the fate of those who were dear to them. . . . Visits to the fortune-tellers have had in many cases

¹ Vide *Cambridge Modern History*, iv. 423.

tragic consequences, many of the women being over nervous owing to the constant uncertainty in which they are kept.¹

The baser elements of organized Religion are quick to take advantage of such states of the social atmosphere. Epochs of War are commonly also epochs of ecclesiastical corruption. Superstition, not Religion, stands to gain at such times, and the true corrective of Superstition is such "FAITH" as that to which the Apostles call us.

7. In the dark hour, through which the world is now passing, there is need of this strong "FAITH" which sees through events, and beyond them. For truly the aspect of affairs seems to challenge, nay, to contradict, the first article of our creed, the necessary postulate of all religion, belief in a Personal God, ruling righteously in the universe which He has made. As we read daily of the fearful destruction of human life which is proceeding on the battle-fronts, East and West and South, how distant and unreal sounds the tender doctrine of the "FATHER IN HEAVEN," righteous, mighty, and loving, "APART FROM WHOM NO SPARROW FALLS TO THE GROUND!" The old obstinate questionings, which have ever challenged the belief in Divine

¹ Vide *Times*, November 23, 1914.

Providence, and which were hardly silenced in days of calm and prosperity, cry in our ears with terrible clamour when everything about us seems to echo and confirm them. Doubts which had vanished return in more urgent and persuasive form, and our minds are as the swept and garnished mansion welcoming back the evil spirit which once had been thrust forth. As our fortunes ebb, our faith ebbs too, unless indeed there is more in it than the easy-going conventional acquiescence which passes for "FAITH" in quiet times. We are thrown back on the last entrenchments of religion, and our spiritual conflict becomes a desperate struggle for dear life. The prophet HABAKKUK traversed such a dark hour when the Assyrian invader seemed to carry all before him, and Israel's creed seemed to be stultified by the course of events. The Assyrian Monarchy played, in that older world, a part curiously similar to that which, in our modern world, is being played by Prussia. It stood for the supremacy of naked Force, Force that had cast aside all moral restraints, owning nothing higher than itself, and winning its blood-marked victories by the terror which its cruelties inspired. Faithless, cynical, and cruel, the Assyrian stands confessed in the monuments which have survived to attest his character, and which you

may read to-day in the great collections of Europe. The Hebrew Prophet begins his prophecy with the all but despairing cry of a faith which is confronted by facts which disconcert and almost disallow it : " THOU THAT ART OF PURER EYES THAN TO BEHOLD EVIL, AND THAT CANST NOT LOOK ON PERVERSENESS, WHEREFORE LOOKEST THOU UPON THEM THAT DEAL TREACHEROUSLY, AND HOLDEST THY PEACE WHEN THE WICKED SWALLOWETH UP THE MAN THAT IS MORE RIGHTEOUS THAN HE ; AND MAKEST MEN AS THE FISHES OF THE SEA, AS THE CREEPING THINGS, THAT HAVE NO RULER OVER THEM ? " There is a challenge flung in the face of an unregarding Heaven, and it expresses a doubt which trembles on the brink of denial. But HABAKKUK'S prophecy does not end in that mood of despondent scepticism. He finds his faith again as he remembers the Providence and Power of JEHOVAH revealed in the wonderful history of his own nation, and reads in his own conscience the assurance that JEHOVAH is essentially righteous, and cannot finally sanction the triumph of wickedness. So the prophecy ends in a Hymn of Faith : " FOR THOUGH THE FIG-TREE SHALL NOT BLOSSOM, NEITHER SHALL FRUIT BE IN THE VINES ; THE LABOUR OF THE OLIVE SHALL FAIL, AND THE

FIELDS SHALL YIELD NO MEAT ; THE FLOCK SHALL BE CUT OFF FROM THE FOLD, AND THERE SHALL BE NO HERD IN THE STALLS : YET I WILL REJOICE IN THE LORD, I WILL JOY IN THE GOD OF MY SALVATION."

8. Bishop LIGHTFOOT said that "history is an excellent cordial for the drooping courage"; and we may well believe that, if he had been living in this dark time, he would have bidden us strengthen our faith by recalling the wonderful Providences of the ALMIGHTY in the past. "VERILY THOU ART A GOD THAT HIDEST THYSELF," said the Hebrew Prophet ; and the Christian Poet has echoed the thought in some well-known lines :

God moves in a mysterious way,
His wonders to perform ;
He plants His footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm.

But not even history with its amazing records of progress through defeat, the triumph of truth growing out of the triumph of falsehood, could suffice to secure the human spirit against the strain of the world, if it were not joined to the Faith which looks forward to the Vision of God in final and perpetual victory. The Seer of the Apocalypse finds nothing less to be reserved for God's servants : "THERE

SHALL BE NO CURSE ANY MORE : AND THE THRONE OF GOD AND OF THE LAMB SHALL BE THEREIN : AND HIS SERVANTS SHALL DO HIM SERVICE ; AND THEY SHALL SEE HIS FACE ; AND HIS NAME SHALL BE ON THEIR FOREHEADS. AND THERE SHALL BE NIGHT NO MORE ; AND THEY NEED NO LIGHT OF LAMP, NEITHER LIGHT OF SUN ; FOR THE LORD GOD SHALL GIVE THEM LIGHT : AND THEY SHALL REIGN FOR EVER AND EVER."

9. "THEY SHALL SEE HIS FACE"—the promise is not for some distant future only, and for some other state of being ; but for the time present, and for this difficult world in which we are living. The proofs of its fulfilment are not lacking for all who have eyes to see and ears to hear. Into how many young minds did the Vision flash in those early days of the Great War, when the sudden tidings ran through the land of a cruel and mighty Wrong, challenging, on the violated soil of Belgium, every instinct of manly virtue! From school and college, from shop-counter and office, from factory and mine, streamed forth the Visionaries of God, arrested, like the Pharisee on the Damascus road, by the Call from Above, and, like him, "NOT DISOBEDIENT TO THE HEAVENLY VISION." We older men, held back by age, or weakness, or circumstance, from the

quest, saw them rallying to the Cause of God with a wonder which was half pride and half shame—pride in their simple and unfaltering loyalty, shame for our own shadowed and doubting hearts. Truly said the Lord, “OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF BABES AND SUCKLINGS THOU HAST PERFECTED PRAISE.”

10. Let us not mar the perfect harmony of this spiritual witness by any narrow ungenerous thoughts. The splendour of the Vision is not for one nation only, nor yet (though this may seem a hard saying when the passions of the conflict are thrilling on the air) for one side only. Selfish ambition may stain the noblest cause; chivalrous devotion may redeem the worst. Men are not judged by the measure of their knowledge, nor even (strange as it may seem) by the soundness of their judgment; but by their loyalty to that Vision of God which (in strangely blurred forms often, and sometimes in strangely-ordered circumstances) visits every human spirit. Not to Jew only, or to Gentile, to Englishman or to German, but to every man the decisive message is given: “HE HATH SHOWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD: AND WHAT DOTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO LOVE MERCY, AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD?” We may, nay, in justice we must, believe that the thou-

sands upon thousands of young Germans, little more than boys in many cases, as guiltless as our own brave lads of policies and plans of campaign, are facing also in their personal lives the same moral crisis, and making the same sublime response. Above the mingled scene, seeing all the separate threads of individual destiny, and the whole march of events, sits the Eternal JUDGE, "BY WHOM ACTIONS ARE WEIGHED." "THE LORD SEETH NOT AS MAN SEETH: FOR MAN LOOKETH ON THE OUTWARD APPEARANCE, BUT THE LORD LOOKETH ON THE HEART." We are not the less strongly persuaded of the righteousness of our own cause, not the less firmly resolved to "do out the duty" which has been laid upon us, if we take a generous and discerning view of the great conflict, and gather into our vision of spiritual victory All, on both sides of the controversy, who have laid themselves, gladly and frankly, on the altar of unselfish service. God knows His own in all the armies; and in His time they shall know one another. "IN HIS LIGHT THEY SHALL SEE LIGHT" when "THEY SHALL BEHOLD HIS FACE," where no veils of misunderstanding, or fogs of error, obscure and confuse their sight.

XIX

CHANGE AND THE UNCHANGING¹

JESUS CHRIST IS THE SAME YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY, YEA AND FOR EVER.—*Heb* xiii. 8.

1. ON September 24, 1101, this great Church was formally dedicated. It had been five years in building. During the interval between the laying of the Foundation-Stone by Bishop HERBERT DE LOSINGA and the Consecration great events had happened both abroad and at home. The first Crusade had begun in a frenzy of militant devotion, and had reached its dramatic triumph in the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099; WILLIAM RUFUS, the worst of the Norman sovereigns, had met his death mysteriously in the New Forest, and had been followed on the English throne by HENRY I., who may perhaps be called of our Norman sovereigns the best. The Archbishopric of Canterbury was

¹ Preached in Norwich Cathedral on the occasion of the Dedication Festival, September 24, 1914.

held throughout by ST. ANSELM, whose intense and impracticable papalism had gone far to paralyze the moral and spiritual effectiveness which so good a man in so great a place ought to have commanded. It was the time when the conflict between the Church and the State, as both existed in medieval Europe, was becoming acute, and, as it chanced, the representatives of the grand rivals were in England dramatically contrasted. In RUFUS the medieval State was seen at its worst; in ANSELM the medieval Church was seen at its best. For the moment, therefore, the victory lay with the Church, but the battle was destined to continue with a different result. Under HENRY II. the superiority of the State within its own sphere became manifest and assured, and, though the circumstances in which ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY was murdered gave a nominal triumph to the Hierarchy, yet the substance of victory remained with the King, and the lines of national development were laid down which should in the future lead to such a complete national independence as that which now forms the salient characteristic of the Church of England.

2. When we recall the conditions of medieval life, and try to understand the modes of medieval thinking, we are amazed at the chasm which parts

the men of the Middle Ages from ourselves. HERBERT DE LOSINGA, the Founder of this Cathedral, was certainly one of the most considerable men of his time, intelligent, learned after the manner of the age, industrious, genuinely pious. Yet he could accept without hesitation, and proclaim from the pulpit without scruple, miraculous legends which can only move incredulous amusement in modern minds. His difficulty in understanding our points of view would certainly have been equally great. In his Charter of Foundation he assumes that the arrangements which he is making will endure for ever unchanged :

I have established in the said church monks there to continue for ever, and never to be cast out thence by any of my successors ; before God and before the heavenly Jerusalem this I ordain, this I ratify, that the monks whom I have established shall continue and be constant in the service and offices of the Church which I have prescribed, and in the manner I have prescribed, not to be driven out by any force, not to be altered by any counsels, not to be ejected at any time. Let no one, who looks to give an account before God Himself concerning the house of God, venture at his peril to alter the appointment of his predecessor.¹

Yet even HERBERT DE LOSINGA might have learned the instability of human arrangements by consider-

¹ Vide *Life and Letters*, by Goulburn and Symonds, vol. i. 147.

ing his own action. His foundation of this cathedral was connected with the policy of transferring the See of the East Angles from a decaying town to a new and rising city. ELMHAM waned as NORWICH waxed ; and in moving his Bishopric from the one place to the other, HERBERT DE LOSINGA was recognizing the fact of change, and the wisdom of conforming to it. There is an element of pathos in such insistence on unalterableness in the case of one who must to his own generation have had the character of an enterprising innovator. To replace the Prior and monks by a Dean and Canons was, perhaps, no greater breach with the past than to transfer the Bishopric from ELMHAM to NORWICH ; but since the last fell in with the familiar and accepted procedure of the time, it seemed to have no unusual character, and Bishop HERBERT wrote his Foundation Charter, we may be sure, without the smallest consciousness of inconsistency.

3. On this occasion, when you are celebrating the 813th anniversary of the Consecration of this noble Church, it may not be unfitting to direct your thoughts to the question, naturally suggesting itself on the retrospect of so great a tract of historic time, Wherein consists the identity of a religion which in

the beliefs and procedures of its professors is so evidently patient of change?

4. There are those who would answer by pointing to the imposing continuity of the ecclesiastical system, illustrated, and in a sense symbolized, by the long succession of the Bishops of Norwich. But to some among us, perhaps not the least discerning, the ecclesiastical system is more suggestive of change than of identity, and it is only the most superficial view of Christian History which can find the identifying principle of CHRIST'S Religion in fixity of ecclesiastical institutions. When this cathedral was consecrated, men conceived of the Christian Church as forming a polity essentially akin to the feudal polities of Europe. There was the Supreme Over-lord at Rome, and subject to him in graduated dependence was a great hierarchy of archbishops, bishops, abbots, priests, and the like. In fact, men understood by the Church rather the hierarchy of the clergy than the society of the faithful, and by religion they meant the monastic life rather than the life of discipleship. The *naïveté* of their materialism gave it something of the charm of child-like simplicity, yet none the less that materialism carried the moral weakness which materialism however disguised can never escape.

These glorious cathedrals which survive amongst us as the monuments of medieval piety are in some sense misleading witnesses of medieval religion ; for we are so accustomed to regard devotion and morality as inseparable that we can hardly imagine how easily and how generally they went apart in those distant ages. Yet it is the case that a just estimate of medieval Christendom must take into account, not only its religious art and the ascetic fervour which inspired it, but also the brutal coarseness of its general habit, and the cruel oppression of its social practice. It was an age of ignorance, of debasing superstition, of flagrant vice, of strange and paradoxical scandals. All these unlovely features of the time must be brought into the picture as well as the great cathedrals, before we can hope to gain a faithful representation of the medieval past. Between ourselves and the epoch in which HERBERT DE LOSINGA was an honoured and representative figure, there is fixed that broad and deep dividing line which separates the modern world from the medieval ; and the slight external continuities of names and institutions must never blind us to the fact. Names continue, but their meaning alters ; institutions survive, but neither their importance nor their significance. We must include in our view the

new growths of time as well as the old, and remember that of all human phenomena the saying holds true, that "THERE IS NO ABIDING." We shall not therefore find in the ecclesiastical system the demonstration of the inviolate identity of CHRIST'S Religion through the changes and chances of Time.

5. Nor shall we find it in the theological forms or moral standards. For these also change with the generations. Here again we may easily be misled by the continuity of dogmas and rules. A creed, hallowed by the acceptance of many generations, passes through centuries on the lips of believers unaltered, and as they fondly believe unaltering ; but in truth the process of change proceeds unceasingly in the region of ideas, and the unchanged words come to carry meanings which their original authors could not have either understood or approved. The standards of right and wrong which Christians accept appear to be nowise rigid. That is venerated in one age which is condemned in another ; the tests of sanctity are different in successive centuries. The Christian conscience allows in the twelfth century what it would condemn in the twentieth. It is sufficient to name the revolution which has passed over Christian thinking on such matters as slavery, persecution,

and the crude asceticism of the anchorites. Accordingly, we cannot discover the identifying factor of CHRIST'S Religion in creeds and canons, however authoritative.

6. We come then to our text, with its clear and confident assertion of an unchanging factor in Christianity, which guarantees through all the mutations of Time an inviolate identity. "JESUS CHRIST IS THE SAME YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY, YEA AND FOR EVER." The pledge of continuity, we see, is not on earth but in heaven, that is, not belonging merely to the fashioning of Time, but, albeit manifesting itself in Time, yet essentially belonging to Eternity, not human only but truly Divine. It would be possible, I think, to show that throughout all the changes of Christian thought and practice there has been maintained from the first one attitude towards the FOUNDER of Christianity. In JESUS, Who was crucified under PONTIUS PILATE, Christians have always acknowledged and adored GOD INCARNATE. Their theology, indeed, has always been provisional — an attempt constantly renewed to state with tolerable coherence what precisely they mean by that great confession, and how they connect it with all they know about the universe and about themselves; and therefore,

since their knowledge is always waxing, their provisional theologies are always becoming unsatisfactory and unsatisfying; but this circumstance never brings into question the primary conviction, which originally provoked the whole train of theological speculation, that JESUS is Divine. Even in our own day, when there is so much genuine perplexity of mind among Christians as to their understanding of the time-honoured expressions of the ancient creeds, when there is admittedly so wide a variety of theological interpretation among Christian teachers, it is certain that no departure from this primary conviction could be tolerated in any Christian Church. For, in truth, all Christian worship would lose meaning and value if once it ceased to base itself on the assumption that JESUS is rightly the Object of Christian worship, the PERSON in Whom and through Whom the Unseen CREATOR can be known and approached. Christian worship and Christian preaching alike take for granted the truth of ST. PAUL'S declaration that "GOD WAS IN CHRIST, RECONCILING THE WORLD UNTO HIMSELF."

7. In the region of morals, I submit, the same fixity of attitude can be shown in relation to the LORD JESUS CHRIST. Christian appreciation of His moral claim, their interpretation of His Example,

their understanding of His Precepts, have varied, but never the central assumption that in Him the moral claim is embodied, that His Example provides the standard of human duty, and His Precepts illumine the way of men's earthly life. That remains from one age to another unalterably the same. The Christian teacher of every grade and stage of civilization takes his stand on that assumption. CHRIST, as the experience of successive generations interprets the significance of His Revelation, and the conscience of Christendom grows more sensitive to His Appeal, waxes ever on the vision of believers as "THE ALPHA AND OMEGA" of Truth. His sublime declaration receives the authentication of Christian testing through the centuries, and strikes on our ears to-day with more solemn and persuasive emphasis: "I AM THE WAY, AND THE TRUTH, AND THE LIFE: NO MAN COMETH UNTO THE FATHER, BUT BY ME."

8. Men have not accepted without resistance that reign of CHRIST. Again and again they have kicked against this great exception to the law of change, which, save for it, is confessedly universal. They have urged, not without a taking plausibility, that the morality embodied in the FOUNDER of Christianity ought to share the obsoleteness which, sooner or later, befalls all human creations. So

long as their argument clings to the study and the lecture-hall, it is not wholly unsuccessful, but so soon as it is brought into the great Laboratory of Life, and has to endure the testing of an actual application to the facts of existence, it fails hopelessly. Then, when its quality must be disclosed by its practical fruits, and the human conscience perforce must weigh its claim, its futile and debasing character cannot be hid. There is that within the human breast which attests unfalteringly the truth of CHRIST'S version of human virtue, and endorses His version of human duty; the prophet declared so much to the pagan inquirer centuries before the great Light of CHRIST'S Presence had shone on the earth, and the Gospel confirms and interprets his great declaration: "HE HATH SHOWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD: AND WHAT DOETH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO LOVE MERCY, AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD?"

9. At the present moment the World is witnessing the exposure of a very confident onslaught on the claim of JESUS CHRIST to be in the twentieth century the Lord of human Life. In Germany there has been proclaimed a rival theory of virtue, a rival version of duty. The Religion of valour has

been advanced against the Religion of Love. NAPOLEON has been offered as a worthier embodiment of Manhood than JESUS OF NAZARETH. Corsica, men have dared to maintain, has conquered Galilee. The new Gospel of Force has made many disciples among a nation too recently arrived at power to understand the moral conditions of its maintenance—a great nation surely, endowed richly with rare potencies of service, able to take a foremost place in the march of Mankind, but inexperienced and easily misled ; blinded by the false glamour of success, and miserably deceived by its leaders in Church and State. That Religion of valour has been interpreted practically in Belgium and France during the last few weeks, and the conscience of the world is outraged and horrified. Shallow thinkers speak of this immense War as if it meant the bankruptcy of Christianity ; a juster and more discerning view will see in it a great vindication of CHRIST'S claim. It is the passionate protest of civilized men against the abandonment of His Ideal, and the attempt to substitute for it the Ideal of the brutal Conqueror. Over the wasted lands and burned cities of Belgium, over the blood-soaked battle-fields of France and Austria, we may hear, if we will listen, through the roar of the cannon and

the cries of the combatants, the ancient confession, *Vicisti, O Galileæ*, "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" From their anguish and striving men echo the sacred Words: "JESUS CHRIST IS THE SAME YESTERDAY, AND TO-DAY, YEA AND FOR EVER." There is no alternative to His Gospel. He, the All-loving, All-enduring SAVIOUR, enshrines the very Hope of Mankind.

10. So I would venture to beg you to find in your Dedication Festival, and in the long retrospect across the centuries to which it leads you, the two-fold message of Change and That which changes not. This venerable Cathedral, standing still after the wear and tear of eight centuries, and still in its latest hour perpetuating the essential witness of its earliest, though in modes and circumstances so strangely altered, cries aloud this message to the busy generations which come and pass in the city, "JESUS CHRIST IS THE SAME YESTERDAY, AND TO-DAY, YEA AND FOR EVER." Would you redeem your fleeting life from aimlessness, and set it free from the dolorous Law of Death, which holds all things terrestrial in its cold grasp? Would you find fixity in a world of passing shows, and plant your feet firmly on the Rock amid the waves of changing Time? Here, in the service of the Unchanging

CHRIST, you may gain your object, for though indeed “THE WORLD PASSETH AWAY, AND THE LUST THEREOF,” yet it still remains the case that “HE THAT DOETH THE WILL OF GOD ABIDETH FOR EVER.”

XX

THE SUPREMACY OF THE INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE¹

THIS IS THE END OF THE MATTER ; ALL HATH BEEN HEARD : FEAR GOD, AND KEEP HIS COMMANDMENTS ; FOR THIS IS THE WHOLE DUTY OF MAN.—*Ecclesiastes xii. 13.*

HE HATH SHOWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD : AND WHAT DOETH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO LOVE MERCY, AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD ?—*Micah vi. 8.*

WE MUST OBEY GOD RATHER THAN MEN.—*Acts v. 29.*

1. THE three texts are so many strands of a single rope. There is, however, an impressive difference between them, which makes their combination the more significant. The conclusion of a religious Philosopher, reviewing life from the vantage-ground of a varied and extensive experience, is seen to harmonize with the message of a Prophet, correcting the grievous theories of superstition by an appeal to the human conscience, and both are implicit in the

¹ Preached to the University of Oxford in St. Mary's on the second Sunday in Advent, December 6, 1914.

refusal of two "UNLEARNED AND IGNORANT" Apostles to admit the claim of external authority to override the witness of their own spirit. "THE WHOLE DUTY OF MAN" is summed up in obedience to the Divine Will, and that Will is said to be disclosed to every man from within himself, separately and with plenary authority. The Preacher, the Prophet, and the Apostles attest from their several points of view the same truth. It is a truth that was slowly gained, and has been with difficulty maintained. Mankind holds loosely by its best possession. For in this high doctrine of the human spirit is the only sure basis for Religion, and the only effectual guarantee of moral Liberty. The knowledge of God which may be gained from the study of the external Universe, and even that which may be gathered from the study of History, will hardly suffice either in quality, or in measure, or in certitude, for the Faith which moves men to do battle with their own baser appetites, and makes them strong enough to "OVERCOME THE WORLD." Such knowledge, borne to the understanding by the senses and by reflection on their testimony, is ever falling below another knowledge arising from within. There, in the secret places of our own hearts, are exalted and commanding intuitions which can dis-

allow the verdicts of the senses, and invalidate the inferences from observation, so that to accept these would enchain us in debasing superstition and wound our self-respect. The Hebrew Prophets are ever making appeal to the higher instincts of men, urging them to bring current religious notions and systems to the judgment of their own perceptions of right, challenging the reigning creed to stand its trial in the court of conscience. That "THE SPIRIT OF MAN IS THE CANDLE OF THE LORD" was the assumption of their witness, and by virtue thereof they placed the religious life of Israel on an ascending path, and pointed their contemporaries upwards and onwards to the climax of the Incarnation. And they established thereby the progressive character of Israel's morality. For once persuade men to revere their highest intuitions as nothing less than whispers of the Divine Spirit itself, effects of their own Divine affiliation, and proofs of Divine fellowship, and you have mightily strengthened those highest intuitions, and made them clearer and more commanding. Self-respect, the palladium of all virtue worthy the name, is given a foundation in reason, and made the servant of religion. Self-respect, moreover, thus rooted in religious conviction, becomes also the spring of social morality. The

Hebrew Prophets might have summed up their practical teaching in the words of SHAKESPEARE:

This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

It is the Golden Rule of the Gospel. Not a windy and impossible altruism is the Christian law of social behaviour, but a rationally disciplined egotism.

“THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF”—that is the difficult but intelligible command, and it suggests the precept: “WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO UNTO YOU, DO YE ALSO SO UNTO THEM: FOR THIS IS THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS.”

The ancient Hebrews, it is said, possessed little aptitude for abstract thinking. They were moralists before they were philosophers, and their distinctive contribution to human progress was less intellectual than religious. Yet every kind of truth is kindred to every other, and therefore it followed naturally that when, in the later stages of the national history, the Hebrews came into the main stream of the world’s life, and passed under the stimulating influence of Hellenic thought, the prophetic teaching harmonized easily with the new and sublime elements which that thought enshrined.

The notion of a God-revealing human spirit united readily with Greek theories of a Divine Reason immanent in the Kosmos, and gained from the union a new breadth and power. Religion ceased to be puritanic, and became catholic. The conscience no longer refused the assistance of other witnesses of God, but remained content with its proper supremacy. External Nature and the History of Man brought their several contributions to the sum of Divine knowledge, and a great religious synthesis began to cast its promise on the landscapes of faith. The largest-hearted of the Cambridge Platonists well describes this harmony of Hebrew and Hellenic thought in a single religious theory :

“The heavens,” indeed, “declare the glory of God, and the firmament shews His handiwork,” and “that which may be known of God,” even “His eternal Power and Godhead,” as ST. PAUL tells us, is to be seen in these external appearances: yet it must be something within that must instruct us in all these mysteries, and we shall then best understand them, when we compare that copy which we find of them within ourselves with that which we see without us. The schoolmen have well compared sensible and intelligent beings in reference to the Deity, when they tell us that the one do only represent *vestigia Dei*, the other *faciem Dei*.¹

¹ *Vide* Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 170.

2. The supremacy of the individual conscience rests on the assumption that a man may, if he so desire, hear in himself the mandates of that righteous and sovereign Will which rightly conditions the action of all external authorities. Nowhere else are those mandates immediate; at best they are but faint echoes and faded scriptures, conveying the Divine Will at second hand; but here in the conscience God comes near to Man, and as it were speaks with him face to face. The Moral Law is indeed expressed more or less adequately in statutes and systems, administered by human hierarchies, civil and ecclesiastical, but its sanctions are always rooted in the human spirit itself, which discerns, discriminates, and decides the moral quality of all human procedures. Thus the individual conscience is both the stay of righteous authority and the solvent of tyranny. It is the first, because it perceives and affirms the agreement between the Will of God as declared indirectly in external government, and that same Will made known directly in men's minds. It is the last, because it disallows the indirect claim when it conflicts with the direct witness, facing every tyranny, as well ecclesiastical as civil, with the simple and unanswerable plea, "WE MUST OBEY GOD RATHER THAN MEN."

3. The supremacy of the individual conscience is assumed in the familiar political doctrine that government should proceed with the consent of the governed. No one would maintain this doctrine in the case of lunatics and criminals, for the one by natural defect, the other by wilful perversion, would be destitute of the condition which alone makes such a doctrine reasonable. Nor indeed can it mean that the Moral Law may be identified with the result of a plebiscite, as if literally *vox populi* were for us *vox Dei*; for that would be all one with denying the very existence of a Moral Law. But the doctrine that government should be with the consent of the governed assumes that men will perceive and follow justice rather than oppression where they are themselves concerned, and that therefore any government which they approve is certified by their approval to be substantially just. It is a rough test, which the experience of Mankind on the whole affirms.

4. The recognition of the supremacy of the individual conscience (that is, of the Divine Will which therein is most clearly uttered) is the true corrective of all exorbitant claims of authority in Church and State, and at the same time the best security against an immoral individualism: "How CAN I DO THIS GREAT WICKEDNESS, AND SIN

AGAINST GOD?" is as inevitable a protest of the conscience as "WE MUST OBEY GOD RATHER THAN MEN," and it is addressed to the same lawless tendency, which moves individuals to vice and governments to the excesses of power. "Perfect freedom" is for man, singly and in combination with others, the service of God. We are called "SO TO ACT AND SO TO SPEAK AS MEN THAT ARE TO BE JUDGED BY A LAW OF LIBERTY."¹ BURKE, in one of those exalted digressions which make even his polemical compositions luminous with perpetual truth, dwells on this inherent and ennobling subjection :

We are all born in subjection,—all born equally, high and low, governors and governed, in subjection to one great, immutable, pre-existent law, prior to all our devices and prior to all our contrivances, paramount to all our ideas and all our sensations, antecedent to our very existence, by which we are knit and connected in the eternal frame of the universe, out of which we cannot stir. This great law does not arise from our conventions or compacts ; on the contrary it gives to our conventions and compacts all the force and sanction they can have. It does not arise from our vain institutions. Every good gift is of God : all power is of God ; and He who has given the power, and from whom alone it originates, will never suffer the exercise of it to be practised upon any less solid foundation than the power itself.¹

¹ Vide *Works*, ix. 455, "Impeachment of Warren Hastings."

5. If this truth of the supremacy of the individual conscience be lost, the only effectual corrective of the social tradition is taken away. There is much confusion of mind at this point, partly caused perhaps by a careless use of language. It is common to hear men speak of the "corporate conscience," or the "civilized conscience," or even the "Christian conscience," as if these were grander and more authoritative moral forces than the private or individual conscience; whereas, in truth, they owe their whole authority to the fresh and continuing approval of the individual conscience, whose verdicts they may be said to embody. There is no direct inspiration of a Church, or a Nation, or a Civilization, or even of Christianity, but a garnering of private achievements, and the slow building up of a common sense in society. We can only ascribe the possession of a conscience to an association of individuals by a figure of speech, legitimate indeed, but also potentially misleading. Illuminations of the individual spirit cast light on the society which includes it; verdicts of the individual conscience establish themselves in social use and wont, receiving the confirmation of renewed approbation and the consecration of time, until they become fixed firmly in the general mind, and serve as postulates of

individual thinking. Thus the levels of moral life are slowly raised, and every man, receiving the heritage of this social tradition, garners the harvest of former conflicts, and guides his path by a larger experience than his own. But there is always this grave feature to be reckoned with when any social tradition is considered. Just because it has gone outside the individual sphere, and become part and parcel of the general stream of human habitude, it is subjected to many alien and degrading influences. Its origins in the fresh verdicts of the individual conscience, inspired from on high, are ever more remote, and its admixture of secular elements is ever more considerable. Therefore it may change its character, and grow by insensible degrees into the contradiction of the very truth it originally sprang from. It can only escape this melancholy depravation by being held closely to the criticism of the individual conscience, and subjected in every generation to the vivifying necessity of justifying itself afresh to the private judgment of mankind. The *métier* of the Prophet is always precisely this, which the prophets of Israel conspicuously illustrated—the calling on individual men to correct the current social tradition by their own perceptions of truth. The business of the reformer is to bring the current

tradition into harmony with the individual conscience. The task of the pastor is to train men in the knowledge of themselves, and thus to lead them to seek within their own minds that guidance which too readily they seek without. Of prophet, reformer, and pastor alike this is the governing assumption : "HE HATH SHOWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD: AND WHAT DOTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO LOVE MERCY, AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD?" Such is the ingrained servility of human nature, such the native indolence of men's minds, that this high and purifying message will never be welcome, and more often than not will be resented.

6. Within the sphere of religion everything is emphasized. There tradition takes its most imposing shape, and there it is most intolerant of criticism. There, too, its degradation is most facile and extreme. That familiar phenomenon which we call "superstition" is not, as too often it is plausibly represented, merely over-ardent religion, but it is false religion. For superstition proceeds on the precise contradiction of the prophetic assumption. Instead of validating the highest intuitions of human nature, it builds its dark empire on men's craven fears. Instead of pointing men to the Divine

witness within themselves, it enchains them to some external authority. See the contrast between religion and superstition set forth with arresting power in the famous passage from which my text has been taken. There the Prophet presents to us an inquirer proposing the question which lies at the root of all religion: "WHEREWITH SHALL I COME BEFORE THE LORD, AND BOW MYSELF BEFORE THE HIGH GOD?" The questioner proceeds to submit the various answers of current paganism, and to seek from the Prophet a more satisfying version of religious duty than they provide: "SHALL I COME BEFORE HIM WITH BURNT OFFERINGS, WITH CALVES OF A YEAR OLD? WILL THE LORD BE PLEASED WITH THOUSANDS OF RAMS, OR WITH TEN THOUSANDS OF RIVERS OF OIL? SHALL I GIVE MY FIRSTBORN FOR MY TRANSGRESSION, THE FRUIT OF MY BODY FOR THE SIN OF MY SOUL?" Could the theory of superstition, Christian as well as pagan, be more impressively stated? We need not now stop to inquire whether MICAH relates an historic occurrence, or whether he projects the well-known figures of BALAK and BALAAM as typical of false and true religion respectively. For our present purpose it suffices to note the nature of the contrast which is disclosed. False religion, we see, ignores

the individual conscience, and proposes a worship which violates self-respect. True religion rests its whole reading of human duty on the witness of the conscience, and calls men to such worship as strengthens self-respect.

7. It has, perhaps, been too often supposed that superstition is peculiar to the sphere of religion, in which undoubtedly its most extreme expressions are to be seen. But we are learning again by bitter experience that within the political sphere also there is an analogous tendency. The State can claim to override the rights of the individual conscience as well as the Church. We are witnessing to-day, in the moral aberration of a great people, and in the agony of civilized mankind, the tragical consequences of a doctrine of the State, which reproduces in the political arena the very extravagances against which our Protestant forefathers revolted, when they were exhibited in the ecclesiastical sphere nearly four centuries ago. It would be a rough, but not substantially unjust, version of the facts to say of the medieval Church, that it took over from the vanquished pagan State, and adapted to its own purpose, together with the framework of the hierarchy, an exorbitant doctrine of power. Pagan State and medieval Church, alike in their contempt

for the individual conscience, seem to come together in a common description. Of both, perhaps, it might be said in the striking phrase of ST. PAUL, that they "SAT IN THE TEMPLE OF GOD, SETTING THEMSELVES FORTH AS GODS."

In modern Europe the reversion to Paganism is disguised by the assumption, tacit everywhere, openly avowed in Germany, that Christianity has no proper bearing on international relations, and must be limited to the case of individuals, and in their case only to their private concerns. This assumption is obviously inconsistent with the prophetic doctrine as to the supremacy of the individual conscience, for conscience disdains such arbitrary delimitation of spheres of human action, and insists that every part of a man's conduct comes within the domain of morals, that duty is co-extensive with life, and that responsibility is always bound inexorably upon the man himself.

8. I confess to some astonishment at the attempt briskly pushed in some quarters to represent the deplorable doctrines of the Prussian military school as the proper consequence of Protestant principles, and even to suggest the inference that only in a definite return to the medieval system, so far as the conditions of our time allow, is the

modern world to escape from the tyranny of the State. Even in quarters not commonly suspected of anti-Protestant views there appears to be a disposition to adopt this strange opinion. "Let there be no mistake," writes a correspondent to the *Record*, "Prussia's conduct, whole-heartedly supported by her people, theologians included, has dealt a reeling blow to Protestant and Evangelical Christianity."¹ This view passes unchallenged, and affects opinion in sections of the people which are not commonly included within the religious public so-called. Yet it will hardly stand a moment's examination. However repulsive to the Christian man's conscience the teachings of VON TREITSCHKE and his pupil VON BERNHARDI may be, they are assuredly not destitute of weighty ecclesiastical authority, and even the horrors of modern German warfare scarcely reach the eminence in cruelty which marked the religious wars of the past. No cynicism of modern politicians can insult the Gospel more grossly than the political morality of the Counter-Reformation; and the casuistry of imperialism will hardly reach the depth of debasement which has ever marked the casuistry of proselytizers. The detestable doctrine of Berlin, which empties

¹ Vide *Record*, November 27, 1914.

international treaties of binding force when they cross the interests of the signatory States, is only a modern version of the old canonical doctrine well established and long operative, nay, for ought I know to the contrary, yet possessed of formal authority, that the Church need keep no faith with heretics.

“It was,” writes DR. FIGGIS very truly, “in the history of the Church, more than elsewhere, that the complete subjection of the individual conscience to the interest of the community was demanded and often obtained. The danger of Machiavellianism is that it demands of the individual in the service of the community the sacrifice, not merely of his purse or his person, but also of his conscience.”

Again he writes :

It is undoubted that that complete supersession of the individual by the social conscience which is the *cachet* of MACHIAVELLI was carried to its highest in an ecclesiastical community. The Society of JESUS expressly denies to the individual the duty of acting upon his conscience where it conflicts with the orders of the superiors. . . . The history of the Society of JESUS is not merely in its common fame an exposition of the principles of MACHIAVELLI; it affords in its constitution the very completest exposition of his doctrine; which is that the individual conscience is to be sacrificed to the community; while its most characteristic moral principle extends into private life the same destruction of moral responsibility, which the ordinary follower of MACHIAVELLI would leave untouched.¹

¹ *Vide From Gerson to Grotius*, pp. 89, 90, 93.

DR. FIGGIS proceeds to establish a lineal succession between the doctrine of NIETZSCHE and the earlier doctrine of MACHIAVELLI. While the Italian Diplomat was content to "banish the notion of right from politics," the German Philosopher "goes one better and leaves triumphant, unashamed, the Uebermensch with his eagle of pride and his serpent of cunning, rejoicing pitilessly over the weak and suffering, and scorning the very notion of love." This "frank return to the ethics of Paganism minus its better side is," DR. FIGGIS tells us, "but the logical and inevitable outcome of the principle of MACHIAVELLI when allowed unchecked predominance."¹ Protestants have often failed to be true to their principles; often reverted with guilty readiness to the very errors which they professed to oppose; often made their conflict with ecclesiastical abuses an excuse for holding lightly by religious obligations; but Protestantism cannot reasonably be charged with the guilt of Prussian Paganism. For in its deepest significance Protestantism was, and is, an assertion of the plenary right of the individual conscience against the aggression of external authority however designated. The famous declaration of the Apostles, "WE MUST OBEY GOD

¹ *Vide From Gerson to Grotius*, p. 95.

RATHER THAN MEN," was addressed to an ecclesiastical court ; and the most part of the " noble army of martyrs " were the victims of ecclesiastical oppression. The attempt to exploit the present disgust of Prussian Statecraft in the interest of the polemic against the Reformation had best be abandoned, alike in the interest of historic truth and of common sense.

9. Give me leave to add an observation which is not merely germane to our present discussion, but will also serve to connect it with the customary theme of preaching on the second Sunday in Advent. If you inquire what is the secret of the unique spiritual power which the Bible possesses over those, alike educated and ignorant, who study its pages, you will be led to the conclusion that it is precisely the directness of its appeal to the individual conscience. The Bible, indeed, may be called the Book of the Conscience. It records the prophetic witness, which it exhibits in its historic setting as a factor in the mingled process of national life. Throughout prophecy marches forward to a climax, which validates its assumption and crowns its message. In the Birth and Ministry of JESUS the seal is set to the prophetic teaching. The plenary truth about God was uttered by the SON

OF MAN, addressing Himself with full right and with prevailing power to men's consciences. The Gospel, it was well said, is the republication of natural religion. The human conscience is the sure ally of the Christian Message wherever it is faithfully delivered. The Bible is so strangely powerful for good because, to borrow COLERIDGE'S phrase, it "finds us," and "whatever finds us brings with it an irresistible evidence of its having proceeded from the HOLY SPIRIT." We may smile at the simple faith which leads thousands of our people to distribute the Bible as if they might take for granted its ability to be its own evidence and its own interpreter; but we may not doubt that of all the morally invigorating factors of our national life at this moment there is probably none so potent and so wholesome as the English Bible in the hands of the people. In an almost infinite variety of manners that incomparable volume teaches the truth which the Sage of Israel recognized as the sum of human wisdom: "THIS IS THE END OF THE MATTER; ALL HATH BEEN HEARD: FEAR GOD, AND KEEP HIS COMMANDMENTS; FOR THIS IS THE WHOLE DUTY OF MAN."

XXI

THE FUNCTION AND FUTURE OF NATIONAL CHRISTIANITY¹

SALT IS GOOD: BUT IF THE SALT HAVE LOST ITS SALTNESS,
WHEREWITH WILL YE SEASON IT? HAVE SALT IN YOURSELVES,
AND BE AT PEACE ONE WITH ANOTHER.—*St. Mark ix. 50.*

1. IN the year 1536 the King, Henry VIII., acting with the consent of Convocation, issued an Ordinance for the abrogation of superfluous holidays. It was ordered that all parishes should keep their Dedications on the first Sunday in October. This provision formed part of a large process of simplification, which was then undertaken by the National Authorities, and applied to every part of the ecclesiastical system. The reason and the principle of the process are stated in that Preface "Of Ceremonies," which was written by Archbishop CRANMER, and still forms part of the Book of Common Prayer.

¹ Preached in St. Margaret's, Westminster, on October 3, 1915, being the Festival of the Dedication of the Church.

The year 1536 has special importance in the history of the English Reformation. All the critical factors of that spiritual revolution emerge then into view. The dissolution of the smaller monasteries; the abolition in effect of the Canon Law, and its replacement by "the King's Ecclesiastical Law"; the issue of "the first authorized formulary of the Church of England," known as "The Ten Articles"; the issue of the first set of Tudor "Injunctions"; the setting up of the English Bible in the Churches by Royal Authority,—all belong to this fateful year. If we inquire what was the reason why the parochial Dedication Festivals should all be kept on one and the same day, I suppose it can be none other than the prosaically practical plea suggested rather than advanced in the "Petition of the Commons" of 1532, that so many holidays interfered unduly with business. It is notable that the Royal Ordinance orders that, with a few exceptions, any feast falling in harvest-time or in legal terms should no longer be observed as a holyday, *i.e.* with cessation of work. The harsh, efficient, competitive, secular, modern world is felt to be impinging on the more humane and unworldly habit of medieval society. It has been thought well to revive in this church the long-neglected observance of the Dedication Festival, and I have

been asked to preach this morning with that observance in mind. In ordinary circumstances such a festival must needs have directed our thoughts to some aspect of the Church's task in the world, but in our present situation such a discussion may well seem equally inevitable and repulsive: inevitable, since we seem to be witnessing the bankruptcy of organized or ecclesiastical Christianity; and repulsive, for our minds are filled with solemn and cruel distractions. The subject which I propose for myself this morning, as fitting this occasion and this church, is the function and future of National Christianity. Elsewhere it may be possible for the preacher to ignore or forget the national character and claim of the Church of England; but never in St. Margaret's, Westminster, where for three centuries the representatives of the nation have been accustomed to meet for worship, formal or informal—filling the whole church, or slenderly visible in their reserved seats. Not unhappily did the Journal of the House in 1735 describe ST. MARGARET'S as "*a National Church for the use of the House of Commons.*" Long may it continue to be so regarded by members of Parliament! Long may the representatives of the English nation treasure in their hearts that belief in the

religious consecration of nationality which their ancient connexion with St. Margaret's assumes, and in a sense displays!

2. National Christianity, a national Church—the very phrases move questioning in thoughtful Christian minds, for how can CHRIST'S Religion, the Religion of Humanity, the Gospel of the Divine FATHER proclaimed by the SON OF MAN, and sent abroad to all nations, take a national character, or find a fitting instrument for its self-expression in a national institution? Does not the very notion of a "national" Church, "national" Christianity, carry us back to a *præ*-Christian phase of religious development, and bind us to the narrow outlook and provincial morality of ancient Israel? It would be uncandid to deny that such questions are neither irrational nor superfluous. Christianity has not escaped the fate of every other religion at the hands of its professors. They have conditioned their nominal acceptance by a practical limitation of its authority, like those paganized Christians of Ireland who are said to have held the boy's right arm out of the water at his immersion in the font, in order that in years to come he might strike the more deadly blow. Indeed, in the case of Christianity the process of nationalization has been

facilitated by the very genius of the Religion. For the Religion of the Incarnation must needs admit, revere, enrich, exalt, every genuine expression of the human spirit. Just as family life is strongest and highest within Christendom, so is national life. If patriotism be a legitimate natural sentiment, it cannot escape the stimulus and exaltation which Christianity brings to everything properly natural. But does family love, or patriotism, really involve any violation of catholicity? Are they not, when justly considered, the only sufficient securities of that larger loyalty to Humanity itself which is the core of catholicity? Christianity stimulates individuality as well in nations as in persons, but in both it disallows individualism; for in creating a consciousness of vocation it proclaims a solemn responsibility and discloses a Divine law. Imperialism, as history has known it, is no longer compatible with Christianity, but not so those racial and local loyalties which imperialism overrides. If I allowed myself just now to speak of "the bankruptcy of organized Christianity," as no excessive description of the spectacle which the War has forced on our notice, it was not because the Religion of CHRIST has taken a national colour in the different countries of Europe, but because, in

Germany and Austria, the Churches have frankly endorsed a brutal imperialism which trampled upon national rights and international law, nay, repudiated for itself all moral restraints ; and because the Roman Pontiff, responsible head of the largest of organized Christian societies, when confronted by such enormous wickedness, contracted his religious witness within the narrowest limits of prudential policy, and (to the wonder and horror of Christendom) declared himself " neutral."

3. Yet another explanation is requisite before our argument can proceed. We must make clear in what sense we employ this familiar expression, a National Church. What do we here understand by the Church of England? Assuredly we must needs mean something more than the national hierarchy which serves the Church, and something less than that whole company of men and women who are swayed and led by the principles of the Gospel. The LORD'S metaphor of " THE SALT," we know, could not be fitly applied to an institution : it must have a wider reference and suggest a different kind of activity. " IF ANY MAN HATH NOT THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST, HE IS NONE OF HIS," says ST. PAUL ; and we may read his words as declaring that wherever the LORD'S Spirit is active in human

minds and lives, there is the Church. At present, however, we have in mind that part of the Christian Society within this country which is organized in the membership of the National Church, which accepts the spiritual authority of the hierarchy, and acknowledges a national character in the Christianity which it professes. A legal establishment is not of the essence of such Christianity, though it is dictated by the course of English history, and in itself eminently congruous and natural.

4. What, then, does the CHURCH OF ENGLAND mean by national Christianity? How far does she claim for English nationality freedom of expression within the profession of CHRIST'S Religion? Perhaps we can answer these questions best by recalling the salient points of that large and complicated process of reconstruction which we describe conveniently as the English Reformation, and which received legal expression and establishment in the Acts of Uniformity. Both the extent and the principle of English Nationalism in religion are there disclosed. This is not the place, nor is this the occasion, for a detailed examination of the Anglican standards. It must suffice to remind you that any just appreciation of the English Church must base itself on a careful study of these—"the Prayer-Book,

the Thirty-nine Articles, the Canons of 1604, and (in a lesser degree) the Homilies. These are the texts of Anglicanism ; all else is commentary. Here I may confine myself to the briefest summary of their effect. They claim complete liberty of national self-expression in all the secondary features of religion, while repudiating resolutely any national right to manipulate those which are primary. At every point the English Reformation is the vindication of Nationality. The English language replaces the Latin as the instrument of Christian worship for Englishmen ; the rites and ceremonies, which are to assist English devotion, are simplified and revised by English authority ; the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which shall exercise authority within England, is set free from dependence on every external power, and becomes frankly national ; the dual system of law, under which Englishmen had lived ever since the original conversion, is now cancelled, and one law, that of the King of England, enforceable by English Judges in English Courts, is made to prevail. The "Royal Supremacy," defined by the law, and administered constitutionally, becomes the distinctive feature of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. A Divine Right in English Nationality is so far recognized that the Religion of CHRIST is not thought of as hostile

thereto, but rather as finding it the natural instrument for its own purpose, providentially provided and equipped for this very end. The future to which the Christian Englishman is bidden by his Church to look forward is, not that of a final disappearance of English Nationality in the triumph of some universally prevailing type of humanity, but the gradual and ultimately complete triumph of all national types, including his own ; their cleansing from every form of sterilizing and alienating individualism, and their harmony in a perfect and everlasting fellowship. CHRIST will reign (such is our English faith) over a human race which brings into His service all the various wealth of its many-sided idiosyncrasy. No national excellence shall be lost, no national type obliterated, no patriotic aspiration disallowed in the " HOLY CITY, NEW JERUSALEM " ; but the Seer's vision shall be fully realized : " THE NATIONS SHALL WALK AMIDST THE LIGHT THEREOF : AND THE KINGS OF THE EARTH DO BRING THEIR GLORY INTO IT."

This large conception of Nationality as an inherently sacred thing, built for eternity, seems to me integral to Anglicanism. To nothing less, I apprehend, is every English Clergyman committed when, at his Ordination, he pledges himself to

“minister the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the Discipline of CHRIST, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church and Realm hath received the same, according to the Commandments of God.”

5. What, then, we may now proceed to ask, are the functions of the national CHURCH OF ENGLAND? Surely they have been sufficiently indicated by the mere statement of the ideal confessed in her standards. The English Church is so to deliver the saving message of CHRIST'S Gospel that English Nationality shall be purged of its characteristic defects, stimulated to the fullest expression of its latent excellences, made completely serviceable to the cause of Humanity as a whole, inspired consciously by Divine mission. Too often, we know, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND has been merely the parasite of English insularity and English ambition. The Nation has shaped the Church, rather than the Church the Nation. That extravagant self-laudation which marked the Anglican divines of the Caroline epoch, and became a tradition in the English Church until the rise of the Tractarians, was but the ecclesiastical counterpart of the arrogant national spirit which inspired English literature and politics. All this we acknowledge with shame and penitence, but such ignoble parasitism has not been the whole

story of English religious life. Beneath the self-sufficiency and self-exaltation lay a conviction, perhaps to some extent the legacy of defeated Puritanism, that the ideal of national policy was to serve Divine purpose ; that God's Hand was upon England, not merely for its good, but for the world's service. MILTON'S famous declaration was disfigured by an intolerable arrogance, but its root was a profound belief in Divine vocation ; and, if the arrogance be exorcised, and the equal claim of every other nationality be frankly granted, the words might stand as a formula of English duty to-day in another critical hour of the world's life :

Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly express their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in His church, even to the reforming of reformation itself ; what does He then but reveal Himself to His servants, *and as His manner is, first to His Englishmen ? I say, as His manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of His counsels, and are unworthy.*

“ *His Englishmen* ”—if the phrase be lawful at all, it must imply no monopoly of Divine regard, but only the interpretation of national privilege in terms of national duty ; the consciousness that the providential purpose, which rests on all the nations

for varying and distinctive contributions to the grand end of righteousness, is bearing visibly and urgently on us. So regarded, it is lawful, and full of solemn suggestiveness. If we are "*His Englishmen*," then, we can only give ourselves to the policies of mere ambition, and make ourselves the agents of that selfish and brazen imperialism which is now again wasting the world, by an act of national apostasy. We are called of God to the tasks, the ventures, and the sacrifices of that "*Holy War*," of which JESUS CHRIST is the supreme Symbol and the eternal Captain. "*We*" are so called, not merely the national clergy, but all those who interpret their Christianity in terms of national obligation, and their national obligation in terms of Christianity. To this end has our national history been leading us; to this vocation our Christian Faith is moving us. Only then do we justify the one, and obey the other, when we act as "*His Englishmen*."

6. We turn to the second part of our inquiry, and ask what may be the future of national Christianity. There are those among us who would answer with ready confidence that it has no future, but is destined to evaporate into a sentimental secularism, or sink back into the regimented mass

of a Catholic system, whose proud boast it is to conquer and suppress national idiosyncrasies. I cannot read thus the signs of the times. I must needs think that they disclose for national Christianity greater possibilities of fruitful service and higher ranges of spiritual witness. The immense conflict, which fills Europe with weeping, is both the vindication and the purification of Nationality. In the furnace of affliction much will have been destroyed and much approved. England will be dearer than ever to the Englishman, France to the Frenchman, Belgium to the Belgian, Russia to the Russian, after this long and bitter conflict. Men will value whatever is distinctive of their own nation —its history, its institutions the products of history, its literature redolent of the soil and inspired by its incommunicable genius ; its natural features, its cities and villages, its ancient monuments, the treasures of memory and the springs of patriotism,—but they will do so no longer in isolating pride, or aggressive ambition. They will respect other men's rights, and sympathize with other men's enthusiasm. Patriotism, purged by the immense sorrows of the War, and hallowed by the gentle and generous Gospel of "THE SON OF MAN," shall become no more the spring of international strife, but the grace

of mutual understanding, and the seal of international fellowship. The old dream of an united Christendom shall rise again before men's minds, but not, as before, a poor replica of secular empire, born of hierarchical ambition and upheld by secular policy, crushing out fair types of spiritual life, and holding down the energies of racial individuality ; no, but a rich harmony of the peoples, a Divine Kosmos of order and beauty, rooted in righteousness, and penetrated with liberty. National Christianity will take its place in a world-wide worship. The Seer beheld that day, and proclaimed it. It is ours, if we will, in some small measure to hasten its coming ; to bring nearer the answer to the Church's prayer : " THY KINGDOM COME. THY WILL BE DONE IN EARTH, AS IT IS IN HEAVEN."

THE END

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